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INSCRIPTIONS OF BENGAL

Volume III

CONTAINING INSCRIPTIONS OF
THE CHANDRAS, THE VARMAH AND THE SENAS,
AND OF IS'VARAGHOSHA AND DAMODARA

EDITED WITH TRANSLATION AND NOTES

BY

NANI GOPAL MAJUMDAR, M.A.

SOMMERSETT MUSEUM OF THE VARENDRA RESEARCH SOCIETY

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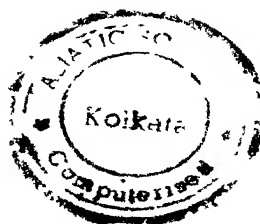
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THIS BOOK IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

to the memory of

the late RANI DRAVAMAYI

consort of the late

RAJA PRAMATHA NATH RAY BAHADUR

of DIGHAPATIYA

and mother of

the late RAJA PRAMADA NATH RAY,

the late KUMAR BASANTA KUMAR RAY,

KUMAR SARAT KUMAR RAY,

KUMAR HEMENDRA KUMAR RAY and

RAJKUMARI INDUPRABHA CHAUDHURANI

who have all contributed towards

the foundation and development

of the VARENDRA RESEARCH SOCIETY

and its MUSEUM.

FOREWORD

It is a matter of congratulation to the Society that it is now able to publish—though after an interval of several years—a further compilation of the inscriptions of Bengal. For this step the Society is indebted to Mr. Nani Gopal Majumdar who has edited the volume, and to Kumar Sarat Kumar Ray who has provided funds for its publication.

In this volume have been brought together all the known inscriptions of the last century and a half of Hindu rule in Bengal—the time of the Sena kings and their immediate predecessors the Chandras and the Varmanas. These inscriptions are practically the only reliable materials available for the history of this period and they are therefore invaluable to scholars. Of Mr. Majumdar's method of treatment of these records or the industry and scholarship he has brought to bear on the task, I do not presume to speak. The wide circle of scholars whom the book will reach through its English medium will judge of them. But I must bear testimony here to the zeal and devotion with which Mr. Majumdar has persevered in this task—an entirely honorary one—for three years and brought it to completion, through many difficulties—the failing health and death of his father, his long periods of absence from Rajshahi and subsequent transfer from there to a distant and more exacting sphere of work, and his dependence throughout on a press unused to this class of printing.

These circumstances have no doubt delayed the completion of the volume and added greatly to the errata, but it is some consolation to know that the delay has enabled Mr. Majumdar to include in his work some additional inscriptions and recent information. Now that the series has been re-opened with this volume, it is hoped that its two companion volumes dealing with the inscriptions of the Gupta and the Pāla periods will not be long in coming out, to be followed by a similar volume for the Muslim period as originally contemplated by the Society.

On behalf of the Society I desire to express here our grateful thanks to Kumar Sarat Kumar Ray for his generously providing the entire cost of this publication.

VARENDRA RESEARCH SOCIETY,

RAJSHAHI.

December, 1928

BIJAY NATH SARKAR,

Honorary Secretary.

PREFACE

In 1912, the Varendra Research Society brought out a compilation in Bengali, of the principal inscriptions of the Pāla period then known to scholars, in a volume entitled the *Gaudalekhamālā*, Vol. I, which was edited by Mr. Akshay Kumar Maitra. At that time they expressed a desire to issue similar volumes containing the inscriptions of the Senas and other dynasties. (*Ibid.*, Preface). Owing, however, to the Society being engaged in other activities the idea could not be pursued for many years. In December, 1924, I came to Rajshahi as Curator of the Society's Museum, and soon afterwards, I was asked by the Council of Management to take up the work, starting with the Sena inscriptions. It was decided that the proposed work should be written in English instead of Bengali, so that it might reach a wider circle of readers. The manuscript was sent to the press early in 1926. Some additions and alterations have since been made in order to bring the work up-to-date. Information, which could not be incorporated in the body of the work, has been given at the end under "Additional Notes and Comments." I have furnished a map showing the find-spots of the inscriptions, facsimiles of eleven of them and at the end a glossary of terms denoting official titles. As the Society contemplates the publication of two companion volumes, one dealing with the Gupta and the other with the Pāla inscriptions, and as the present volume would come after them in chronological order, it is being published as "Volume III" of the series. In this volume, altogether seventeen inscriptions have been edited, besides six more dealt with in the Appendices. They belong roughly to the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D., and include practically all the inscriptions of the Chandras, the Varmans and the Senas that are so far known. There are besides two isolated inscriptions (Nos. XVI and XVII) which do not appertain to any of these dynasties.

In preparing the present edition, I have compared the transcripts of my predecessors in the field with the original stones or copper-plates, whenever such have been available, and also scrutinized the various renderings which they have proposed. The language of the inscriptions being extremely artificial and complex, it has been a difficult task, sometimes indeed an impossibility, to present

a readable and at the same time faithful translation of the text, in a language which is not my own. In the introduction to each text, I have set forth, as briefly as possible, the historical information that may be reasonably derived from the record. It has thus been necessary for me to ransack the mass of literature, in English and in Bengali, relating to particular topics, connected with Bengal history of the period in question, and examine as far as possible the principal theories advanced thereon by different scholars. The main object that I have always kept in view is to present to students, dealing with the history of Bengal, a useful source book, with such bibliographical details as may be necessary for their guidance. As a rule, precaution has been taken to steer clear of all legendary data and give a matter-of-fact account of the records. This, I am afraid, has made the treatment somewhat dull. But it may be pointed out that legends unsupported by reliable evidence cannot be allowed to take the place of scientific, documented history. As an instance, mention may be made of a so-called copper-plate grant issued by a king called, 'Śyāmalavarman', who has been identified by some writers with Śāmalavarman, the father of Bhojavarman of the Belāva copper-plate. A transcript of this grant, said to have been given by Kasi Chandra Vidyavagis of Samantasar (Faridpur Dist.) is quoted in the *Gauḍe Brāhmaṇa*, by Mahim Chandra Majumdar, p. 211-214, and another transcript said to be given in an old MS. of a *Kula-Pañjikā* of the Vaidic Brāhmaṇas is quoted by Mr. N. N. Vasu in his *Vaṅger Jātīya Itihās*, Brāhmaṇa Kāṇḍa, pt. 3, p. 22, n. But the fact is that the copper-plate has never been brought before the public. Again, royal titles like *Vṛishabha-śaṅkara-Gauḍeśvara*, etc., which are prefixed to Śyāmalavarman's name in the quotations aforesaid are specifically those assumed by the Sena kings and absent in the Belāva copper-plate. I have, therefore, thought it unsafe to utilize the evidence of the record in question, while dealing with the latter document.

My prolonged absence from Rajshahi owing to deputation to the excavations in Sind during the winters of 1925-26 and 1926-27 and ultimately my transfer, about the middle of 1927, to the Archaeological Department, have interfered considerably with the printing of this volume. Misprints and other errors which have thus unavoidably crept into the work are pointed out as far as possible under "Additions and Corrections". For those that still remain I can only crave the indulgence of my readers.

I desire to express here my obligations to Mr. Nalini Kanta Bhattasali, Curator, Dacca Museum, for the loan of a half-tone block of the Kedārpur plate of Śrīchandra and of his transcript of the Dhullā plate ; to Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghose, Curator, Patna Museum, for the loan of an estampage of the Bhuvaneswar inscription of Bhaṭṭa-Bhavadeva ; to the authorities of the Calcutta Sahitya Parishat for the loan of the half-tone blocks of the Naihāṭi plate of Vallālasena and permission to photograph the seal of the Tarpanadighi plate of Lakshmaṇasena and take estampages of the plate of Viśvarūpasena ; to Pandit Amulyacharan Vidyabhusan for the present of a set of photographs and the loan of the half-tone blocks of the Govindapur plate of Lakshmaṇasena which though somewhat indistinct are the only evidence of the plate at present available ; to Mr. Johan Van Manen of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for the loan of the half-tone blocks of the Belāva plate of Bhojavarman and the Dacca image inscription of Lakshmaṇasena ; to the late Raja Tankanath Chaudhuri of Ramganj, Dinajpur, for lending Īśvaraghoshā's copper-plate ; and to Mr. Bijaynath Sarkar of the Varendra Research Society, for preparing the map showing the provenance of the inscriptions.

I wish especially to acknowledge my debt of gratitude to Kumar Sarat Kumar Ray, M.A., of the Dighapatiya family, the founder of the Varendra Research Society and its Museum, who has always encouraged me in my work and helped me to get access to some of the records. I have also much pleasure in offering my hearty thanks to Mr. Bijaynath Sarkar, Honorary Secretary of the Society, without whose zeal and watchfulness the book would never have seen the light of day, and to Mr. Niradbandhu Sanyal, now Curator of the Society's Museum, who has rendered ungrudging help in correcting the proofs and provided me with a number of important references.

NANI GOPAL MAJUMDAR

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1. RĀMPĀL COPPER-PLATE OF ŚRĪCHANDRA.

This copper-plate was traced in 1913 in the possession of one Yadunāth Vanikya of the village of Pañchasir in the Munshigunj sub-division of the district of Dacca, by Mr. Radhagovinda Basak who purchased it from him on behalf of the Varendra Research Society. The original findspot of the copper plate seems to have been somewhere in Rāmpāl, one mile and a half from the village of Pañchasār where it was discovered in course of digging the land. It is now deposited in the Society's Museum at Rājshāhī.

The inscription, which the copper-plate bears, was first edited by Mr. Basak in the Bengali Journal *Sāhitya*, 1320 B. S., Śrāvaṇa and Bhādra and later on by him again in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XII, pp. 136-142 and plates.

This is a **single plate** inscribed on both sides, measuring about 9½" by 8". It bears a seal attached to the top from which it projects about 2¾" and causes a break in the middle of the first four lines on the obverse and of the first two lines on the reverse. In line 31 the seal is described as the *Dharmachakramudrā* or 'the emblem of the Wheel of Law'. It consists of a number of concentric circles the innermost of which has in its upper part representation of a wheel flanked on two sides by two gazelles. This is, as is well known, the emblem also of the Pālas and found affixed to their copper-plates. Below the representation, across the seal, is the legend *Śrī-Śrīchandradevaḥ*. The edges of the copper-plate are raised into rims and it is on the whole well preserved excepting for the fact that some letters on the reverse side are badly damaged as a result, we are told, of the application of Nitric Acid for cleaning before the object came into the hands of Mr. Basak. The inscription consists of 40 lines of which 28 are engraved on the obverse and 12 only on the reverse. The size of the letters is about ¼".

The **characters** are a type of Northern Nāgarī which is allied to the alphabet found in the copper-plates of the Later Pālas and was current in North-eastern India towards the close of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh century A.D.—The **language** is Sanskrit. With the exception of the beginning formula *om svasti* the inscription is in verse up to about the end of line 14. There are again the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 34-40. The rest of the inscription is in prose. There are altogether thirteen verses which are composed in a variety of metres viz., Vasantatilaka, Śārdūlavikrīḍita, Upajāti, Indravajrā, Anuṣṭubh and Puṣpitaḡrā. •

As regards **orthography** it should be noted that the same sign is used throughout both for *b* and *v*; a letter following the superscript *r* is usually doubled; and the guttural nasal takes the place of *anusvāra* in two places (*-vaṇṣe*, l.3 and *-ākarāṇṣuḥ*, l.6) before a palatal sibilant. An important orthographical feature which brings this record in a line with some of the Pāla copper-plates¹ is the retention of the final *m* before the letter *v* with which it is joined, e.g., in *śrīyām=vikhyāto*, l.4. The sign of *avagraha* is employed in four out of seven places.

(The inscription is one of the *Parameśvara*, *Paramābhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, the devout worshipper of Sugata (i.e., Buddha), the illustrious **Śrīchandradeva**, who meditates on the feet of the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Trailokyachandradeva**. The record opens with the auspicious formula *om svasti* followed by a verse in honour of Jina (i.e., Buddha), Dharma, and also indirectly of Saṅgha (ll. 1-3). It then mentions that one **Pūrṇachandra** was born in the family of the Chandras who were rulers of **Rohitāgiri** (ll. 3-5). His son was **Suvarṇachandra** (ll. 5-8). His son **Trailokyachandra**, who became king in **Chandradvīpa**, is described as 'the support of the Fortune goddesses (of kings) who rejoiced at the umbrella which was the insignia of royalty of the king of **Harikela**' (ll. 8-10). His wife was **Śrīkāñchanā** who bore a son **Śrīchandra** by name (ll. 11-13). This document was issued by him from his 'camp of victory' situated at **Vikramapura** (ll. 14-15). It records the grant of 1 *pātaka* of land in the village of **Nehakāshṭhi** in the **Nānyamaṇḍala** of the **Paundrabhukti**² (l.17). Lines 18-26 contain the customary list of officials and other persons connected with the grant to whom the charter was addressed, as well as the conditions under which it was given. The donee was the *Sāntivārika* **Pitavāsaguptasārman**, great grandson of **Makkaḍagupta**, grandson of **Varāhagupta** and son of **Sumaṅgalagupta**, belonging to the **Sāṇḍilya gotra** and the *pravara* of the three *Rishis* (ll. 26-28). The inscription terminates with the benedictive and imprecatory verses, but neither the name of the *Dāta* nor any official endorsement occurs at the end.

Two more records belonging to the reign of **Śrīchandra** have been discovered viz., the **Idilpur** and **Kedārpur** copper-plates. Of these the former has not yet been edited and is known only from an abstract published in the *Dacca Review*,

¹ E. g. Khālīmpur copper-plate of **Dharmapāla**, *Ep. ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 245; Nālandā copper-plate of **Devapāla**, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 310ff.

² This is evidently the same as **Paundravardhanabhukti**. It is called briefly **Paundra-bhukti** also in **Belāva** copper-plate. See below p. 15.

for October 1912, and subsequently reproduced in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVII, pp. 189-90, in course of an article on the latter by Mr. N. K. Bhattasali. The Kedārpur-plate is an unfinished document inasmuch as it contains only the stereotyped portion giving the genealogy, the grant itself being not recorded at all. The present one is therefore the only record that may be utilised for historical purposes.

The Chandras do not seem to have originally belonged to Bengal. In verse 2 it is stated that they were rulers of Rohitāgiri, which is identifiable with Rohitāsgadh in the Sāhābād district of Bihar. They emigrated to Eastern Bengal, and most probably taking advantage of the weakness of the declining Pāla power carved out a kingdom for themselves. Trailokyachandra, to whom the title *mahārājādhirāja* has been assigned, was very likely responsible for the rise of this new power in Eastern Bengal. His kingdom was Harikela i.e., Eastern Bengal, including Chandradvīpa, which was the home territory of this dynasty. 'Harikela' is mentioned in Hemachandra's *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi* (v. 957) as a synonym of 'Vaṅga' and it is described by the Chinese traveller I-tsing as the eastern limit of Eastern India.¹ It is again included in a list of 64 sacred places or *Pīṭhas* of the Tāntrika Buddhists in the *Dākṛṇṇara*.² And in M. Foucher's *L'Ikonographie Bouddhique de l'Inde* (Vol. I, p. 200, no. 55) there is reproduced the text of a miniature label which reads *Harikelladeśe Śīlālokanāṭhah* or 'the Śīla-Lokanāṭha in the country of Harikela'. Another label (ibid., p. 192, no. 17) reads: *Chandradvīpe Bhagavatī Tārā* or 'the goddess Tārā in Chandradvīpa'. Moreover we know that the Chandras, at any rate Śrīchandra and his two immediate predecessors, were devout Buddhists. In Eastern Bengal this Buddhist dynasty was succeeded by the Varmans and the latter again by the Senas. In other parts of Bengal the power of the premier Buddhist dynasty of the Pālas was overthrown by the Brahmanica family of the Senas. Thus in the twelfth century A. D. Buddhism entirely lost state support in Bengal. At the time of the Muhammadan invasion perhaps the only dynasty that adhered to Buddhism in North-eastern India was a minor one of Bodhgayā, who called themselves Pīṭhīpatis³ and probably did not rule over a territory reaching far beyond Bodhgayā and its immediate neighbourhood.

A certain Govinda Chandra, king of Vaṅgā-deśa, i.e. E. Bengal, is mentioned in the Tirumalai inscription of 1025 A. D. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 231.) He might have belonged to this Chandra dynasty.)

¹ Takakasu, *I-tsing*, p. XLVI.

² Śāstri, *Catalogue of Sans. Mss. in the Govt. Coll.*, Vol. I (1917), p. 92. Cf. Levi, *Ind. Ant.*, 1906, p. 21.

³ Majumdar, *Ind. Ant.*, 1919, p. 43 ff.

TEXT.

Obverse.

- 1 ॐ¹ स्वस्ति । ²व[न्द्यो] जिनः स भगवान्-करुणै(क)-पात्रं धर्माप्यसौ
 2 विजयते जगदेकदीपः । यत्ने[त्ने]वया सकल एव महानुभावः स-
 3 सारपारमुपगच्छति भिक्षुसङ्घः³ ॥[1*] ⁴चन्द्राणामिह रोहितागि(रि)भुजाम्बु⁵
 4 विशालश्रियास्विख्यातो⁶ भुवि पूर्य⁷चन्द्रसदृशः श्रीपूर्य⁸चन्द्रोऽभवत् । अर्चा-
 5 नाम्पदपोठिकासु⁹ पठितः सन्तानिनामयतष्टङ्कोत्कोर्य¹⁰ नवप्रशस्तिषु जयस्तम्भेषु
 ताम्नेषु च ॥ [2*] ¹¹बुद्धस्य यः श-
 6 शकजातकमङ्गसंस्थं भक्त्या विभर्त्ति भगवानमृत(कराड्शुः¹² । चन्द्रस्य तस्य कुलजात इतोव
 बौद्ध (ः) पुत्रः
 7 श्रुतो जगति तस्य सुवर्ण¹³चन्द्रः ॥[3*] ¹⁴द[र्शे]स्य माता किल दोहदेन दिदृक्षमाणो-
 दयिचन्द्रबिम्बं ।
 8 सुवर्ण¹⁵चन्द्रेण हि तोषितेति सुवर्ण¹⁶चन्द्रं समुदाहरन्ति ॥[4*] ¹⁷पुत्रस्तस्य पवित्रितोभयकुलः
 कौलीन¹⁸।
 9 -भीताशयैस्त्रैलोक्ये विदितो दिशामतिथिभिस्त्रैलोक्यचन्द्रो गुणैः । आधरो हरिकेल-रा-
 10 ज-ककुद-च्छत्रस्मितानां श्रियां यश्चन्द्रोपपदे बभूव नृपतिर्दीपे दिलीपोपमः ॥ [5*]
¹⁹ज्योत्स्नेव चन्द्रस्य
 11 शचीव जिष्णोर्गौरो हरस्येव हरेरिव श्रीः । तस्य प्रिया काञ्चनकान्तिरासीच्छ्री-
 श्रीकाञ्चनेत्यञ्जित-²⁰
 12 शासनस्य ॥[6*] ²¹स राजयोगेन शुभे मुहूर्ते मौहूर्तिकैः सूचितराजचिह्नं [1*]
 अवाप तस्यां तनयं
 13 नयन्नः श्रीचन्द्रमिन्द्र(द्रूपममिन्द्रतेजाः ॥ [7*] ²²एकातपत्राभरणां भुवं यो विधाय
 वैधेयजनाविधि-
 14 यः । चकार कारासु निवेशितारिर्यशःसुगन्धोनि दिशं मुखानि ॥ [8*] स खलु
 श्रीविक्रमपु-

¹ Expressed by a symbol.² Metre : Śārdūla-vikrīḍita.³ Metre : Śārdūla-vikrīḍita.⁴ Read *archānām paṭh*. The letter *nā* is so written as it looks like *nā*.⁵ Read *ākāraṁśubh*.⁶ Only a portion of *na* is incised.⁷ The second *śrī* is redundant and should be omitted.⁸ Metre : Vasantatilakā.⁹ Read *-bhujām ramāḥ*.¹⁰ Metre : Upajāti.¹¹ Mr. Basak reads *saṅgha*.¹² Read *-śrīgām rikhyāto*.¹³ Metre : Vasantatilakā.¹⁴ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.¹⁵ Metre : Indravajrā.¹⁶ Metre : Upajāti.¹⁷ Metre : Upajāti.

- 15 र-समावासित-श्रीमज्जयस्कावारात्परमसौगतो महाराजाधिराज-श्रीमत्ते लीक्य चन्द्रदे-
 16 व-पादानुध्यातः परमेश्वरः परमभट्टारको महाराजाधिराजः श्रीमान् श्रीचन्द्रदेवः कुश-
 17 ली ॥ श्रीपौण्ड्रभुक्त्यन्तःपाति नान्यमण्डले । नेहकाष्ठिग्रामे पाटकमूसौ ॥ समुपगताशे-
 18 ष राजपुरुषराज्ञीराणकराजपुत्रराजामात्यमहाव्यूहपतिमण्डलपतिमहासन्धि-
 19 विग्रहिक । महासेनापति । महाक्षपटलिक । महासर्वाधिकृत । महाप्रतीहार ।
 कोटपाल । दीः
 20 साधसाधनिक । चैरोद्धरणिक । नौबलहस्त्यश्वगोमहिषाजाविकादिव्यापृतक ।
 गौल्लिक । [श्री]-
 21 स्त्तिक [।*]दाण्डपाशिक[।*]दण्डनायक-[।*] विषयपत्यदिनन्यांश्च¹ सकलराजपादोजीवनो²
 ऽध्यक्षप्र-³
 22 चारोक्तानिहाकीर्त्तितान् । चाटभ(ट)जातीयान् चैत्रकरांश्च ब्राह्मणोत्तरान् यथाहं मान-
 23 यति बोधयूति समादिशति च । मतमस्तु भवतां । यथोपरिलिखितभूमिरियं । स्वसी-
 मावच्छे(च्छि)⁴
 24 न्ना । दण्णपूतिगोचरपर्यन्ता । सतला । सोद्देशा । साम्प्रपनसा । सगुवाकनालिकेरां
 सलवणा स-
 25 जलस्थला । सगर्त्तापरा सदशापराधा । सचैरोद्धरणा परिहृतसर्वपीडा अचाटभटप्र-
 26 वेशा अकिञ्चित्प्राच्या । समस्तराजभोगकरहिरण्यप्रत्यायसहिता । श(?)यल्लस्यगो-
 27 त्राय⁵ त्रौर्धि⁶प्रवराय ।⁷ मकडगुप्तस्य⁸ प्रपौत्राय वराहगुप्त-पौत्राय सुमङ्गलगुप्तस्य पुत्रा-
 28 य । शान्तिवारिकश्रीपीतवासगुप्तशर्मेण । विधिवदुदकपूर्वकं कृत्वा कोटिहोमेङ्ग⁹

Reverse.

- 29 तवते भगवन्तं बुद्धभट्टा(र)कमुद्दिश्य मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च
 30 पुण्ययशोभित्वद्वये । आचन्द्रार्क क्षितिसमकालं यावत् भूमि(च्छि)
 31 -द्रव्यायेन । श्रीमद्वर्ध्म-(च)क्रमुद्रया ताम्रशासनीकृत्य प्रदत्ताऽस्माभिः [।*] अतो
 भवद्भिः सर्वै-
 32 रनुमन्तव्यं ।⁹ भाविभिरपि भूपतिभिर्भूमेर्दानफल-गौरवादपहरणं महानरकपा-

¹ Read -*paty ādin*.

² Read -*pāḍopajirina*. This portion bears signs of erasure of the engraver. An *i*-stroke — as at first put in after *sakala* and then erased.

³ The letter *dhya* is so written as it looks like *pya*.

⁴ The last letter is not properly incised.

⁵ Read *Sāṃdhyas-*. The first two letters have not been correctly engraved.

⁶ The superscript *r* as well as the *i*-stroke is not clear.

⁷ Mr. Basak reads *Makara*. But the first letter looks not like *ma* but like *da*.

⁸ Read *Kṛṣṇagatya-*. This corrected reading occurs as original in Mr. Basak's transcript.

⁹ This mark of interconnection is dropped in Mr. Basak's transcript.

- 33 तभयाच्च दानमिदमनुमोयानुपालनीयम् [1] निवासिभि¹ क्षेत्रकरांस² ऽ(आ)ज्ञाश्रयणविधे-
 34 योभूय (य)योचितप्रत्यायोपनयः कार्य इति ॥ भवन्ति चात्र धर्मानुशंसिनः श्लोकाः ॥
³भूमिं यः
 35 प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति । उभो तौ पुण्यकर्माणौ नियतं स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥[9*]
⁴षष्ठिस्व[र्ष]सहस्रा ⁵
 36 णि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः । आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरकं⁶ वसेत(त्) ॥[10*]
⁷स्वदत्तां परदत्ताम्वा⁸ यो ह-
 37 -रेत वसुध्वराम् । स विष्टायम्⁹ क्रिमि¹⁰भृत्वा पि[ट]भिः [सह पच्यते] ॥[11*] ¹¹बहुभि-
 4 व(सु)धा दत्ता राजभिः सग-
 38 रादिभिः [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि[स्त]स्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥[12*] ¹²इति कमल-
 दासुविन्दु¹³ लोलां
 39 श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजोषितश्च¹⁴ । सकलमिदमुदाहृतश्च बुद्धा नहि पुरुषैः पर-
 40 कीर्तयो वि(लो)प्याः ॥ [13*] ० ॥

TRANSLATION.

Om ! Hail !

(Verse 1). May that Lord Jina (*i.e.*, Buddha) who is the unique receptacle of mercy, be venerated : and triumphant also be Dharma, the unique lamp of the world in consequence of whose worship the entire noble-minded Saingha of monks transcends the series of continuous existence (*samsāra*).¹⁵

(Verse 2). In the family of the Chandras, (who were) rulers of Rohitāgiri, and were possessed of enormous fortune, Pūrṇachandra who was like the full moon, became illustrious in this world. (His name) was mentioned on the footstools of images, first among those 'who possess off spring,' and in novel panegyrics engraved by chisel on pillars of victory and copper-plates.

¹ Mr. Basak reads *virāsibhi*. The second letter is so written as it looks like *nā*.

² Read *kshetrakaraṇāḥ* - *ch* - .

³ Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

⁴ Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

⁵ The superscript *r* stroke is not clear. Read *śaṣṭīm varsha* - .

⁶ Read *narake*.

⁷ Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

⁸ Read *-dattām vā*.

⁹ Read *riṣṭhāyām*.

¹⁰ Read *krīmī*.

¹¹ Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

¹² Metre : Puṣpitaṅgrā.

¹³ Read *-dalāmba*.

¹⁴ The *i*-stroke in *ri* is not fully engraved.

¹⁵ This verse occurs also at the beginning of the Kedārpur and also probably the Idilpur plates of Śrīchandra. The word *samsāra* seems to have been used here in its Buddhistic sense, so that going beyond the *samsāra* would mean attaining Nirvāṇa.

¹⁶ The meaning of the expression *saṁtāninām - agraṭah* is not quite clear.

(Verse 3). His son **Suvarṇachandra**, who was renowned in this world, became a follower of the Buddha, as if because he was born in the family of the Moon, the god, whose rays are the fountain-head of nectar and who devoutly bears in his lap the Buddha in his Hare-birth (*Śaśajā'aka*).¹

(Verse 4) As his mother had a desire, due to the longing (natural to a pregnant woman), of seeing the disc of the rising moon,² on a New Moon day, and as she was satisfied by (having) 'a golden moon' (namely her son, comparable to the New Moon in beauty), people gave him the name Suvarṇachandra.

(Verse 5). His son **Trailokyachandra**, wellknown in the three worlds, sanctified both the families³ (i.e., paternal and maternal) by his Virtues, were afraid of scandal and became the guests of all Quarters (i.e., spread in all direction). He who was like Dilīpa became king in the 'Dvīpa' (island) to which is joined (the word) 'Chandra' and was the support of Fortune goddesses (of other kings' smiling at (i.e., joyful on account of) the umbrella which was the royal insignia of the king of **Harikela**.⁴

(Verse 6). As the Moonlight (lady) of the Moon, Śachī of the Conqueror (i.e. Indra), Gaurī of Hara and Śrī of Hari, so also was Śrīkāñchanā, charming like gold (*kāñchana*), the beloved of that (king) whose authority was acknowledged (by all).

(Verse 7). He whose prowess was like that of Indra and who was versed in polity, got from her a son like the Moon, named Śrīchandra having royal marks indicated by prognosticians, at a moment that was auspicious on account of the *Rājayoga*.⁵

¹ As Mr. Basak points out the allusion is here to the wellknown Śaśajātaka (Fausbøll, No. 316). In my opinion the reference is to the story as preserved in its Sanskrit Kern's edition, pp. 27-33). On page 33 of this work an explanation is given as to why the Moon in a former birth in which the Bodhisattva was a hare he sacrificed his own life for the sake of the Sakra being highly pleased with him decorated the moon with the mark of a hare. After this account there occurs the following remark :

Sampūrṇe—dy = āpi tad idam śaśa-vimbari niśākare
Chhāyāmayam—iv-ādarśe rājate divi rājate
Tataḥ prabhṛti lokena kumudākaraḥ hāsanah
Kṣaṇādātīlakas = chandrah śśāśūka iti kīṛtyate.

The author of the inscription who was probably familiar with this explanation of the name of Śaśāśūka, utilised it in his own way in verse 3. The expression *śaśakajātakaṃ = āśka-saṁsthām* should be marked.

² It is a common belief (even at the present day) that if a pregnant woman sees the moon on New Moon days her issue becomes as beautiful as the moon.

³ (Cf. Barrackpore grant = *abhaya-kula-praudhī-sampad-guṇāṅgām* (verse 4).

⁴ Mr. Basak's translation of the last portion is : "the support of the royal majesty smiling in the royal umbrella of the king of Harikela".

⁵ "A constellation under which princes are born or a configuration of planets etc. at birth denoting a person destined for kingship." M. Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s. v. This verse seems to occur also in the Idilpur plate of Śrīchandra.

(Verse 8). Having made the Earth decorated with one single umbrella (namely, his own), that (king), who was never led astray by idiotic persons put his enemies in prison-houses and made the faces of the Quarters fragrant with his fame.

(Lines 14-16). Now, from his illustrious 'camp of victory' situated at **Vikrampura**, the devout worshipper of Sugata (i.e. Buddha), the *Parameśvara*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājadhiraṇṇa*, the illustrious Śrīcandra¹deva, meditating on the feet of the *Mahārājadhiraṇṇa* **Trailokyachandra**deva, being in good health --

(Lines 17-23) duly honours, informs and orders all those that are pre-
ciz., the *Rājapurushas*, the queen, *Rānakas*, *Rājaputras*, *Rājāmātyas*, *Mahāyūhapati*, *Maṇḍaputis*, *Mahāsāndhivigrahika*, *Mahāsenāpati*, *Mahākshapatalika*, *Mahāsarvādhikṛta*,² *Mahāpratiṣāra*, *Koṭṭapāla*, *Danḍisādhāsādhānika*, *Chauroddharaṇika*, officers in charge of fleet, infantry, elephants, horses, cows, buffaloes, goats, sheep etc., the *Gaulmikas*, *Saulkikas*, *Danḍapāśikas*, *Danḍanāyakas*, *Viśayapatis*, and all others who are dependant on His Highness, mentioned in the list of officers, but not specified here, and those belonging to the class of *Chāṭas* and *Bhāṭas*, the tillers of the land, and the best among *Brāhmaṇas* --

(Line 17) in the matter of 1 *pālaka* of land in the village of **Nehakāshṭhi** belonging to the **Nānya-maṇḍala** of the **Paṇḍra bhukti** :

(Lines 23-26). Be it known to you that this land, as described above, circumscribed within its own boundaries, along with grass, pūtiplant, pastures, with better face, with mango and jackfruit trees with betelnut and cocoa-
salt, with land and water, with pits and barren tracts, with
Sims, with police (protection), immune from all kinds of forced
to be entered by *Chāṭas* and *Bhāṭas*, free from all dues, with all the
income such as taxes and gold enjoyed by the king, --

(Lines 26-31) is made over by Us by means of a copper-plate charter and affixing the illustrious *Dharmacha'ra* seal, in the name of lord Buddha-bhaṭṭāraka, and for the increase of merit and fame of myself and my parents, as long as the Sun, Moon and the Earth endure, according to the principle of *Bhūmichchhidra*, having duly touched the water, to the *Śāntivārīka*² *Pitavāsagupta* --

As pointed out by Mr. Basak this official designation occurs also in a copper plate of Śivaraghosha (Maitra, *Sāhitya*, 1320 B. S.). Cf. also the term *sarvādhikṛta* of Vākātaka copper-plates, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 237.

² It is probably the designation of the priest, in charge of propitiatory ceremonies. Cf. *nagarīka*, 'the chief person in a court or assembly' (M. Williams). Cf. also such terms as *śāntyāgarādhikṛta* and *śāntyāgarīka* occurring in Varman and Sena records.

śarman, who has undergone the Koṭihoma (ceremony),¹ who is the great grandson of Makkadagupta, grandson of Varāhagupta and son of Sumaṅgalagupta, belonging to the Śāṇḍilya *gotra* and the *pravara* of the three Rishis.

(Lines 31-34). Therefore it should be approved by all of you. This gift should be approved of and protected by future kings also, considering that gift of land entails enormous merit and its taking away fear of falling into the great hell. By the cultivators also who dwell (upon the land)² my command (in this respect) should be obeyed, and all dues that are proper should be paid (to the donee). There are also verses in praise of Dharma in this matter :

(Verse 9). He who receives a landgrant and also he who bestows it, both attain merit and invariably go to Heaven.

(Verse 10). The giver of land rejoices in Heaven for sixty thousand years and the transgressor (of a gift) as well as he who approves (of transgression), dwells in Hell for the same number of years.

(Verse 11). He who takes away land given either by himself or by others rots along with his forefathers as a worm in dirt.

(Verse 12). Land has been given away by kings, Sagara and others ; whosoever at any time owns the land to him belongs at that time the fruit (of such grant).

(Verse 13). The good deeds of others should not be effaced by people considering that fortune as well as human life is as unsteady as a drop of water on a lotus petal, and also realising all that has been cited above.

¹ See M. Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s. v., and *Sanskrit vocabulary*, s. v. ; also *Grihyasamgraha* (Bib. Ind.), verse 9, Prapāthako I.

² Mr. Basak reads *civāsibhik* instead of *nivāsibhik* which is the correct reading and translates by 'the dwellers abroad'. Cf. however *praticāsibhik* occurring in this context in Pāṇa copper-plate grants.

II. KEDĀRPUR COPPER-PLATE OF ŚRICHANDRA.

This copper-plate was discovered in 1919 in excavating earth from a ditch at the village of **Kedārpur** in the Mādāripur sub-division of the District of Faridpur. Soon after the discovery it came to the knowledge of Mr. N. K. Bhattasali who got it acquired for the Dacca Museum.

The inscription, which the copper-plate bears, was edited without plates, by Mr. Bhattasali in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVII, pp. 188-92. A facsimile is now published herewith from a halftone block kindly lent by him.

This is a **single plate** inscribed on one side only and measures $8\frac{1}{2}$ " by $7\frac{1}{2}$ ". It bears a seal similar to that of the Rāmpāl copper-plate having the emblem of the Wheel of Law. Across the seal is the legend *Śrī-Śrī-Chandraḍeva*[h].

The record is an unfinished one, and consists of only 18 lines being engraved on the obverse. The size of the letters varies between $\frac{1}{10}$ " and $\frac{5}{16}$ ".

The **characters** are evidently of the same type as those in the Rāmpāl copper-plate—belonging to about the close of the tenth or the first part of the eleventh century A.D. The **language** is Sanskrit. With the exception of the beginning formula *om svasti* the inscription is in verse upto the end of line 15. The remaining portion (lines 16-18) is in prose. There are in all seven verses, composed in a variety of metres, viz., Vasantatilaka, Anuṣṭubh, Upajāti, Indravajrā, Śragdharā and Śārdūlavikrīḍita. In ll. 4-5 there is an extremely corrupt *pīḍa* of a verse in Anuṣṭubh metre which is almost impossible to restore.—As regards **orthography** the letters *b* and *v* are denoted by the same sign, the guttural nasal is used before a palatal sibilant in *nistrīṇṣa* (l. 9), a letter following a superscript *r* is usually doubled, a *visarga* before a dental sibilant becomes *s*, e.g., *s = sukritī* (l. 6) and the sign of *avagraha* is used in one out of two cases. The text is full of gross mistakes and shows extreme carelessness on the part of the scribe.

The inscription is one of the devout worshipper of Sugata (*i. e.*, Buddha), the *Parameśvara*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Śrī-chandraḍeva**, who meditates on the feet of the *Mahārājādhirāja Trailokyachandraḍeva* (ll. 16-18). It is represented to have been issued from his 'victorious camp' situated at **Vikramapura** (l. 16). The record opens with the auspicious formula *om svasti* which is followed by a stanza in

honour of the lord Jina (i. e., Buddha) and Dharminā, and also indirectly of the Saṅgha (ll. 1-3). It then gives the genealogy of the Chandras in six eulogistic verses mentioning first Pūrṇachandra (ll. 3-6), then his son Trailokyachandra (ll. 6-9) and lastly Trailokyachandra's son Śrīchandra (ll. 10-15). Then comes the preamble of the prose-portion (*sa khalu* etc.) mentioning the name of the place from where the document is to be issued and so on. The inscription, however, abruptly ends there, so that the object of the inscription is not recorded at all. Thus we have a copper plate that was meant to be a charter issued by the king, but was ultimately left unfinished. Mr. Bhattasali thinks that it is "no grant at all, but only a plate kept ready, with the stereo-typed portion of the grant inscribed in the office of issue to be filled in with the necessary remaining portions as occasion arose" (*loc. cit.*, p. 188). How far this view is tenable it is not possible to say. But other explanations such as the collapse of the power of the Chandras under Śrīchandra or the death of the donee, just when the plate was being engraved, may not be altogether unworthy of consideration.

TEXT.

Obverse.

- 1 ओ¹ स्वस्ति । ²वन्द्यो जिनः स भगवान् करुणैकपात्रं
- 2 धम्मोप्यसौ³ विजयते जगदेकदोषः [1*] यत्नेवया
- 3 सकल एव महानुभावः संसारपारमुपगच्छति भिक्षुसङ्घः ॥ [1*]⁴ पूर्ण-
- 4 चन्द्र इति श्रीमानासीन्नामोरजं रजः । यस्यो.....मातपत्रमपत्र-
- 5 पाः⁵ ॥ [2*] ⁶नाम्नौ विशुद्धो न तुलाधिरुद्धः किन्तु प्रकृत्यैव युतो गरिम्णा । तथापि क-
- 6 ल्याणसुवर्मेकल्पः सुवर्म्सं चन्द्रस्सुसुक्तो ततोभूत् ॥ [3*] ⁷पुण्यावलोकः परलो-
- 7 कभीरोर्लोक्यः समाश्वसित-जीवलोकः [1*] त्रैलोक्य-संकोर्त्तितपुण्यकोर्त्तः त्रै-
- 8 लोक्यचन्द्रोऽस्य बभूव पुत्रः ॥ [4*] ⁸चतुःपयोराशिसमाप्तपृथ्वीजयाभिलाषो वि-
- 9 पश्येत्सुख्यः [1*] युद्धेषु निस्त्रिङ्गलताजलेन यो वैरिविहङ्गं स(श)मयाश्चकार ॥ [5*]

¹ Expressed by a symbol. Mr. Bhattasali reads it as *siddha* = *astu*.

² Metre : Vasantatilaka.

³ Read *dharmma*.

⁴ Metre : Anushtubh.

⁵ This portion which forms the second *śūda* is extremely corrupt. Mr. Bhattasali reads... *naśyagashayagashat* *vr̥[ta] mātapatranajatrajāh*. Mr. H. Krishna Sastri would suggest an emended reading *gasya[d dvi]shub si (she) drah [sra] ...* which however is very doubtful. (cf. verse 5 of the Rāmpāl plate : *ādāto Harikharāja-kakuda-chekhhatraśmānām śrīgām* etc. The original reading might have been something like *gasya ari goshala* s. *gasya ātapatram = āpa-trapāh*.)

⁶ Metre : Upajāti.

⁷ Metre : Indravajrā.

⁸ Metre : Upajāti.

- 10 ¹श्रीमान् श्रीचन्द्रदेवः समजनि तनयस्तस्य सहर्षवन्धोः क्रूरारम्भे स(द)यालुः
 11 परगुणमुखरो दोषवादैकमूकः [1*] प्रेक्ष्यः पीनो गुणानां निधिरिति
 12 विषयासक्तिपक्षादिपक्षे यस्मिन्ना(त्ता)धत्त वेधाः(ः) श्रियमतिरभसादर्थतो ना-
 13 मतश्च (॥) [6*] ²सृष्टः पार्थिवपांसुदोहरस श्लघाघनदिगजैर्नैत्राणामनिमै-
 14 षतः परिहृतो दूरेण वृन्दारकैः [1*] केशेष्वप्सरसामपूर्वपलितभ्रान्तं
 15 समारोपयन् सन्तानो रजसां रणेसुषु ³जयिनो यस्य द्युमार्गं गतः ॥ [7*]
 16 स खलु श्रीवक्रमपुरसमावासितश्रीमज्जयस्कन्धावारात्-परमसौगतो
 17 महाराजाधिराजः⁵ श्रीतैलोक्यचन्द्रदेवपादानुध्यातः परमेश्वरः प-
 18 रमभट्टारको महाराजाधिराजः श्रीमान् श्रीचन्द्रदेवः कुशलो ।

TRANSLATION.

Om ! Hail !

(Verse 1). See above p. 6.

(Verse 2). There was one Pūrṇachandra, who was endowed with fortune, and the dust raised by his army (was resorted to without fear by the wives of his enemies thinking it to be his umbrella ?)⁶

(Verse 3). From him was born the virtuous Survarṇachandra, comparable to beautiful gold (which is) by nature endowed with value, although it may not be either tested in fire or weighed on balance.⁷

(Verse 4). To (this king) whose virtuous deeds rang through the three worlds and who was timid of the world to come, was born a son Trailokyachandra, whose sight (itself) was sacred, who was of handsome appearance and by whom was consoled the living world.

(Verse 5). He who had the desire of conquering the Earth bounded by the four waters (i.e., the four seas), (but) was not greedy of wealth, extinguished the fire of his enemies in battles, by the water (i.e., juice) of his sword-creeper.⁸

(Verse 6.) From him who was a friend of the Good Path,⁹ was born a son, the illustrious Śrīchandradeva, who was kind-hearted in respect of merciless sacrificial slaughter (of animals),¹⁰ eloquent as regards the virtues of others,

¹ Metre : Sragdharā.² Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.³ Read -dohadurasa- ślāghāghanair=⁴ Read *raṇeshu*.⁵ Read *mitkārājādhirāja- śrī*.⁶ See remarks above p. 11, n. 5.⁷ This verse as well as verses 4 and 5 seems to occur also in the Idilpar copper-plate of Śrī-chandra.⁸ Like a physician administering a medicinal creeper to cure fever. Cf. Anulā copper-plate, verse 3.⁹ The word *sad-ratman* may have been here used for *sad-dharman* i. e., the Buddhist Path.¹⁰ 'kind (even) towards mischievous endeavours'. - Bhattachali. But *ārambha* (=ārambha) has also the technical sense of sacrificial slaughter. As this is against the spirit of Buddhism and as Śrīchandra was himself a Bud-



१. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 २. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ३. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ४. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ५. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ६. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ७. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ८. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ९. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 १०. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ११. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 १२. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 १३. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 १४. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 १५. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 १६. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 १७. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 १८. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

(but) singularly dumb in the matter of slander, beautiful to look at, proportionately built and a receptacle of good qualities, in consideration of which the Creator (i.e., Brahmā) forcibly united the goddess of Fortune in spirit as well as in name¹ with him, (although he was) opposed to enjoyment of worldly pleasures.

Verse 7). The multitude of dust raised by that conqueror in battles was touched by the Elephants of the quarters who were exceedingly delighted with and had longing for, mundane dust : it was avoided by the gods (who were obliged to remain at a distance, unable to shut their eyelids² : and lending an unprecedented false appearance of whiteness (as from old age) to the hair of the nymphs it went up along the path of heaven.

(Ll. 16-18). Now from the illustrious 'camp of victory' situated in **Vikramapura**, the most devout worshipper of Sugata (i.e. Buddha), the *Parameśvara* *Paramabhūṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* the illustrious Śrīchandradeva, meditating on the feet of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Trailokyachandradeva being in good health—

dist it is only natural for the poet to describe him as *krūrāmbhe dayāluh*. The word *ārambha* may mean 'effort', 'action', 'undertaking', etc., as well, and taken in that sense the expression may be rendered as 'kind in cruel deed.' But the first interpretation seems to be more appropriate.

¹ There seems to be here a pun on the word *śrī* forming part of the king's name.

² The gods have 'winkless eyes' as one of their characteristics—Hopkins, *Ep. Myth.*, p. 57.

III. BELĀVA COPPER-PLATE OF BHĪJAVARMAN.

This copper-plate was discovered by a Muhammadan cultivator in course of digging a plot of land at the village of Belāva in P.S. Ruggunj, in the Naraingunj sub division of the Dacca District, and was soon afterwards purchased from him by Mr. Pramatha Nath Dutt, Assistant Settlement Officer, Dacca. It is now deposited in the Dacca Museum. A preliminary account of the inscription, which the copper-plate bears, was published in the *Dacca Review*, Vol. II, No. 4 (July, 1912)¹. It was then edited by Mr. R. G. Basak in the *Sāhitya*, 1319 B. S., pp. 382-99 by Mr. R. D. Banerji in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, N. S., Vol. X (1914), pp. 121-129 and plates XVIII-XX and finally by Mr. R. G. Basak again, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XII, pp. 37-43 and plates opposite pp. 40, 41.

This is a **single plate** engraved on both sides, measuring $9\frac{1}{2}$ " by $10\frac{1}{4}$ ". It bears a circular seal attached to the top. In the central portion of the seal there seems to have been originally the design of a wheel inasmuch as in line 48 the seal is described as a *Vishṇu-chakra-mudrā* or 'the seal bearing the design of Vishṇu's wheel'. No trace of the wheel is however perceptible, although Mr. Banerji gives a rather detailed description of it². Mr. Basak clearly says that 'the impress of the sacred wheel was completely scraped off by the finder of the plate, who thought the plate was made of gold'.

The writing consists of 51 lines of which 26 occur on the obverse and 25 on the reverse. It is on the whole in a good state of preservation. The majority of letters is about $\frac{3}{8}$ " in size.

The characters represent a type of Northern Nāgarī that was current in Eastern India about the 12th century A. D., being somewhat more advanced than those of the Rāmpāl copper-plate of Śrīchandra and akin to those of the inscriptions of the Senas. Among other matters we should note the two kinds of *i*-stroke e.g. in *karir-āpi* (l. 11), the two kinds of *t* in *tataḥ* (l. 4) and the initial sign for *au* in *Aurva* (ll. 41-42).—The **language** is Sanskrit. With the exception of the introductory *om siddhiḥ* in line 1 the inscription is in verse upto about the end of line 24. There is an imprecatory verse again in ll. 50-51. The rest of the document is in prose. It contains altogether 16

¹ The article contains a preface by Mr. F. D. Ascoli, a transcript by Pandit B. B. Goswami, and an English translation by Messrs. S. N. Bhadra, K. K. Seng and N. K. Bhattacharya.

² *J. A. S. B.* (N. S.), Vol. X, p. 121.

verses which are composed in a variety of metres viz. Anuṣṭubh, Śārdūlavikrīḍita, Indravajrā, Mālinī and Vasantatilaka. In ll. 22-23 there occur only the first two *pādas* of a verse in Śārdūlavikrīḍita metre. As regards orthography it should be noted that both the letters *b* and *v* are denoted by the same sign : after a superscript *r* letters like *g*, *ṇ*, *t*, *m*, and *v* are doubled, but as a rule there is no doubling in the case of *v* there being only two exceptions viz. *Aurva* and *Yajurveda* (l. 42) : a final *m* is joined with a *v* or *p* in *kim=varṇayāmy=* (l. 16) and *śa-dattām=paradattām=vā* (l. 50) : the stroke of *vīrāma* (applied to final *t*, *n*, and *m*) is fairly clear in the case of only *m* in *paṇḍitānīm* (l. 11) and *sārvrabhauma-śrīgam* (l. 15), but in all other cases it is doubtful whether it was at all employed by the scribe e. g. in *-ādīn* (l. 34) and *rasandharām* (l. 50) : and that a special sign for final *t* occurs in *saṃvat* (l. 51).

(The inscription is one of the devout worshipper of Viṣṇu, the *Parameśvara*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* the illustrious **Bhoja** (or **Bhojavarman** as he is called in ll. 21, 45-46 and 51), 'who meditated on the feet' of the *Mahārājādhirāja* **Sāmalavarmmadeva** (l. 25). The record opens with *om om siddhi(h)* which is followed by a string of Paurāṇic names,¹ Svayambhū, his son Atri : Atri's son Chandramas (the Moon) : the Moon's son from his wife Rohiṇī, Budha : Budha's son, from his wife Ilā, Purūravas having three wives Kīrtti, Ūrvaśī and Bhū : Purūravas' son Āyu : Āyu's son Nahusha : Nahusha's son Yayāti : Yayāti's son Yadu : in the family of Yadu, Kṛishṇa (ll. 1-7). The kinsmen of Hari (i.e. Kṛishṇa) were the **Varmmans** who occupied **Simhapura** (ll. 8-9). In that family flourished **Vajravarmman** (ll. 11-12). He ^{his son Jātevarman} made himself powerful in the **Āṅga** country, married **Vīraśrī** (the daughter of **Kaṇva** l. 13) and crippled the power of (the king of) **Kāmārūpa**, **Divya** and **Govardhana** (l. 14). From his wife **Vīraśrī** was born **Sāmalavarmmadeva** (l. 15). His son was **Udayin** (l. 17) and his daughter, by his wife **Mālavyadevī**, was **Trailokyasundarī** (ll. 18-19). In spite of his having other wives it was she, i.e., **Mālavyadevī** who became the Chief Queen of **Sāmalavarmman** (l. 20). Their son was **Bhojavarmman** (l. 21). This document was issued by him from his camp of victory situated at **Vikramapura** (ll. 24-25). The grant consisted of 1 *pāluka* and 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ *droṇas* of land of the village of **Upyalikā** belonging to **Kausāmbī-Aṣṭagachchhakhaṇḍala** in the **Adhahpattana-Maṇḍala** of the **Paundra-**

¹ Cf. some of the South-Indian inscriptions for a similar enumeration of the Yādavas e.g. Nandamapundi grant of Rājaraṇja I. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 304, l. 2, ff.

bhukti¹ (ll. 27-28). Lines 29-36 contain the customary list of royal officers and others connected with the grant. The donee is Rāma devaśarmman who has the title *sāntyāgārādhikṛita*, son of Viśvarūpadevaśarmman, grandson of Jagannāthadevaśarmman, great grandson of Pītāmbaradevaśarmman, originally an inhabitant of Madhyadeśa and later belonging to the village of Siddhala, in Uttara-Rādhā (ll. 43-45). He belongs to the Sāvarṇa *gotra*, Bhṛigu, Chyavana, Āpnuvāna, Aurvva and Jāma dagnya *pravaras* and the Vājasaneyā *charaṇa*, and is a student of the Kāṇva *śākhā* of the Yajurveda (ll. 41-43). The royal seal is mentioned in l. 48 as *Śrīmad-Vishṇuchakramudrā*. The grant is dated the 14th day of Śrāvaṇa and the 5th regnal year of Bhojavarmmadevapāda, which is followed by an abbreviated form of endorsement *ni anu Mahāksha ni* (l. 51). The author of the *prāśasti* Purushottama is mentioned in l. 24.

The Varmans, who ruled over Vikramapura for only a short period came originally from Simhapura. Mr. Basak seeks to identify this place with Sīhapura 'which is mentioned in the Mahāvaṃśa, VI, 35 ff., as situated in Lālārathā i.e., Rādhā' (*loc. cit.*, p. 37). On the other hand Prof. Sten Konow points out that "we know of princes with names ending in *Varman*, who ruled in *Simhapura*, and who were kings of Kalinga" (*Ibid.* p. 37, n. 2). It is possible that both of these Simhapuras are identical, as Kalinga might have included a portion of Rādhā. Simhapura of Kalinga was the seat of certain Varman kings like Chandravarman and Umāvarman of whom the Komarti and Brihatproshthā copper plates have been published by Prof. Hultzsch.² It is also known from some of the Ceylonese inscriptions published by Mr. E. Müller and from the continuation of the Mahāvaṃśa.³ The identification of Simhapura is not certain. According to some it may be the same as modern Singapuram between Chingle and Narasannapeta.⁴ This record proves that a dynasty, who had Varman as their title and were of Yādava lineage, ruled over Simhapura. Another inscription, to which Mr. R. D. Banerji⁵ draws our attention, bears testimony to the same fact. This is the Lakkhamāṇḍal inscription⁶ from the Jaunsar Bawar district on the Upper Jumna, which records the dedication of a Śiva temple by Iśvarā, wife of a king of Jālandhara in the Punjab. She is described as having descended from a line of Yādava kings of Singhapura. From a list of twelve kings

¹ Evidently the same as Paundravardhanabhukti. For this abbreviated form of the name see also the Rāmpāl copper-plate, above p. 2.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 142 ff and *ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 4 ff. "

³ See Hultzsch, *J. R. A. S.*, 1913, p. 518 and p. 520, n. 1, and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 4.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 143. ⁵ *J. A. S. B. (N. S.)*, Vol. X, pp. 123-24.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 10 ff.



of this dynasty given in the inscription it appears that all of their names ended in 'Varman'.¹ Bühler thinks it very probable that the ancestors of Īśvarā, queen of the Jālandhara prince, ruled over a district that lay also in the Punjab and he identifies Sindhapura with Sang-ho pu-lo described by Hiuen Tsang. But it should be noted that there is nothing in the epigraph itself which supports this conclusion, or makes it in any way necessary².

Jātavarman who married Viraśrī (daughter of Karna, evidently no other than the Chedi king of that name son of Gāṅgeyadeva³), must have been a contemporary of Vīgrahapāla III of the Pāla dynasty. For Yauvanārī, a daughter of Karna, was married by Vīgrahapāla III according to the *Rāmacharita* of Sandhyākara Nandī. Therefore Jātavarman's son Sāmala-varman was a contemporary of Rāmapāla son of Vīgrahapāla III and Sāmala-varman's son Bhojavarmman as well as Rāmapāla's sons, Kumrapāla and Madanapāla were contemporaries of each other. This synchronism is important for settling the date of the Varmans as well as that of the later Palas. The latest known date of Gāṅgeyadeva is 1037 A. D.⁴ and that of his son Karna, 1073 A. D.⁵. The latter's son-in-law Jātavarman and Vīgrahapāla III must have therefore reigned within this period. The reign of Jātavarman's grandson Bhojavarmman therefore has to be necessarily placed about the close of the 11th or ✓ beginning of the 12th century A. D.

Among other personal names Divya has been identified with Diyya or Divvoka, the Kaivartta leader of North Bengal mentioned in the *Rāmacharita*. Verses 10-12 of the record referring to the son, daughter and wives of Sāmala-varman have not yet been properly understood. In verse 9 he is described as being born from Viraśrī. The following verse (i.e., verse 10) which begins with *tasya—odayi sūnū—abhūt* etc. cannot but be taken as related to his son Udayin. It should be, however, noted that according to Mr. N.N. Vasu⁷ and Mr. R. D. Banerji⁸ *tasya* is here a mistake for *tathā*, and *Udayi* and *sūnū* are to be taken as members of a compound *Udayi-sūnū*, i.e., 'son of Udayin'. Again in verse 11 (*tasya Mālavya-devy āsī kanyā Trailokyasundarī jagadvijayamallasya ca—jayanti Manobhuvah*), *jagadvijayamallasya* and *tasya* are taken as referring to the son of Udayin, Jagadivijayamalla by name. Thus one

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

² Even Kielhorn writes, "Yadus, according to the Lakkha Maṇḍal Prākāśa, were long ruling in part of the Punjab" - *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 246.

³ Cf. Banerji, *J. A. S. B.* (N. S.), Vol. X, p. 123 and *Pālas of Bengal*, p. 88; and Basak, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 38.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 207.

⁵ *Sāhitya*, Vol. XXII, p. 748.

⁶ Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, Vol. XXI, p. 113.

⁷ Basak, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 38.

⁸ *J. A. S. B.* (N. S.), Vol. X, p. 125.

Jagadvijayamalla was Mālavadevī's father and father-in-law of Sāmalavarman. Since however the inscription has undoubtedly the form *udayī* (Nominative singular of *Udayin*) and not *Udayi* which should have been the proper form in a compound, and further as the long *ī* cannot be taken as a mistake of the scribe for short *i* the former being required by the metre, it is impossible to hold that *Udayī-sānuḥ* is to be looked upon as a compound. Hence the aforesaid theory cannot be accepted. I should also note that the latest translation of the verses in question by Mr. R. G. Basak¹ is likewise not free from confusion. He does not, however, substitute *tathā* for *tasya* in verse 10, nor does he take *Udayin* and *sānuḥ* as members of a Tatpuruṣa compound. His translation is as follows : (v. 10) "He had a son Udayin who saw only his own face reflected in front in his own sword, in battle fields which were full of many an irresistible hero". (v. 11) "He had a daughter, Mālavadevī, the most beautiful lady in the three worlds, who was (as it were) the banner of the god of love (lit. the mind-born one, the great wrestler in the conquest of the world)". (v. 12) "It was this lady who became the chief queen of Sāmalavarman, though his harem was full of the daughters of numerous kings". In this translation 'he' in v. 10 refers, of course, to Sāmalavarman, who and no other male person is described in v. 9. Thus Udayin was his son. Again 'he' in v. 11 must denote either Sāmalavarman or Udayin : and Mālavadevī would in that case be either daughter or grand daughter of Sāmalavarman. In v. 12 'this lady' most certainly means Mālavadevī. How therefore she can be described as the wife of Sāmalavarman one fails to imagine. Thus Mr. Basak's translation leads to inconsistency². My translation does not agree with either of those stated above, with the only exception that I agree with Mr. Basak in taking *Udayī* and *sānuḥ* as separate words. In verse 11 I take Trailokyasundarī as the name of Sāmalavarman's daughter through his wife Mālavadevī (*Mālavadevyā*). The name Trailokyasundarī is by no means uncommon. One of the queens of Vijayabāhu I of Ceylon (A.D. 1054-1109) was a princess of Kalinga named Tilokasundarī,³ i.e., Trilokasundarī. The inscription mentions (in verse 12) that Sāmalavarman had other wives besides Mālavadevī. The mother of Udayin whose name does not occur in it might have been one of them. The term *jagadvijayamalla*, i.e., 'the hero who has conquered the (whole) world' is a most appropriate epithet of Manobhū, i.e., 'the god of Love' for whom we have

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 42.

² On p. 38 of his article Mr. Basak says that the last line of v. 9 (which mentions Sāmalavarman) 'seems to mention another person, the poet's master (*prabhu*)' and Udayin was his son.

³ *J. R. A. S.*, 1913, p. 520.

such epithets as *Trai'lokyavīra* (e.g. *Naihati* copper-plate l. 4 used in literature. As regards *Purushottama*, the composer of the *Prasāsa* there is no means for his identification¹.

In respect of place names I should note that *Kauśāmbī* (l. 2^o) has been identified with *Kusumba* in *Rajshahi* district, by Mr. R. D. Banerji who also thinks that it is the same as *Kauśāmbī* mentioned in the *Rāmacharita*². *Siddhāla*, the village in *Uttara Rādhā* of which the donee's great grand-father was an inhabitant, is described in the *Bhuvaneśvara* temple inscription of *Bhavadēvabhaṭṭa* as 'an ornament, (*alaṅkāra*) of the goddess of Fortune of *Rādhā* (*Radhāśrīgah*)' and was the chief (*sarva-āgrimaḥ*) among all the places in *Āryāvarta* where *Brāhmaṇas* of the *Savarṇa gotra* flourished³. It is interesting to note that the present donee *Rāmadevaśarma* belongs also to the same *gotra*.)

TEXT.

Obverse.

- 1 श्री⁴ श्री सिद्धि (:) ॥ ⁵स्वायम्भुवमिहापत्यं मुनिरत्रि[दि]वीकसां । तस्य यन्नायनं
तेजस्तेनाजा-
- 2 यत चन्द्रमाः ॥[1*] ⁶रौहिणेयो बुधस्तस्मादस्मादेक्षपूरुखाः (1*) जज्ञे स्वयंव्रतः की[र्त्या]
- 3 चोर्व्विष्या च भुवा च यः ॥[2*] ⁷सोप्यायुं समजीजनन्मनुसमो राजस्ततो जज्ञिवान् क्ष्मा-
- 4 पालो नहुषस्ततोजनि महाराजो ययातिः सुतम् ॥[1*]सोपि प्राप यदुं ततः क्षिति[भु]-
- 5 -जां वंशोयमु[ज्जृ]म्भते वीर्य्योश्च हरिश्च यत्र वज्रशः⁸ प्रत्यक्षमेवैक्षत ॥[3*] ⁹सोपी[ह]
- 6 गोपीशतकेलिकारः कृष्णो महाभारतसूत्रधारः [10] अर्घः¹⁰ पुमानंशकृतावता-
- 7 -रः प्रादुर्बभूवोद्भूतभूमि-भारः ॥[4*] ¹¹पुंसामावरणं त्रयी न च तथा हीना न नग्ना इति
- 8 त्रयां चाहुतसङ्करेषु च व(र)साद्रोमोद्गमेर्वर्मिणः [1*] वर्माणोतिगभीर-नाम दधतः
- 9 श्लाघ्यौ भुजौ बिभ्रतो भेजुः सिंहपुरं गुहामिव मृगेन्द्राणां हरिर्बन्धवाः ॥[10] [5*]
- 10 ¹²अभवदथ कदाचिद्यादवीनां चमूनां समरविजययात्रामङ्गलं वज्रवर्म्मा [1*] शम-
- 11 न इव रिपूणां सोमवद्बान्धवानां कविरपि च कवीनां पण्डितः [प]ण्डितानाम् ॥ [6*] ¹³जा-

¹ See however Banerji, *J. A. S. B.* (N. S.), Vol. X, p. 126.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 205, verse 3.

³ Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

⁴ Read *bahubāh*.

⁵ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

⁶ Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

⁷ Metre : Indravajrā.

⁸ Metre : Mālinī.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

¹⁰ Expressed by a symbol.

¹¹ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

¹² Read *arghya*.

¹³ Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

- 12 तवर्मा ततो जातो गाङ्गेय इव शान्तनोः दया व्रतं रण[ः] क्री[डा] [त्या]गो यस्य महो-
- 13 त्सवः ॥[7*] ¹गङ्गन्वैण्यपृथुश्रियं परिणयन् कर्म्मस्य वीरश्रियं योङ्गेषु प्रथय[न्] प्रथय[न्] परिभवं-
- 14 स्तां कामरूपश्रियम् [1*] निन्दन्दिव्यभुजश्रियं विकलयन् गोवर्द्धनस्य [श्रियं] कुर्वन् श्रोत्रिय-
- 15 साच्छ्रियं विततवान्-स्त्रां सार्वभौमश्रियम् ॥[8*] ²वीरश्रियामत्रनि सामलवर्म्मदेवः
- 16 श्रीमाञ्जगत्प्रथममङ्गलनामधेयः [1*] किम्बर्ष्णाम्यखिलभूपगुणोपपन्नो दोषे-
- 17 [र्म्म]नागपि पदं न कृतः प्रभुर्म्म ॥ [9*] ³तस्योदयो सूरभूत् प्रभूतदुर्व्वारवीरेष्वपि सङ्ग-
- 18 रेषु [1*] यच्चन्द्रहा(स)प्रतिविम्बितं स्वमेकं मुखं सम्मुखमीक्षते स्म ॥[10*] ⁴तस्य मालव्यदेव्या-
- 19 सोत्कन्या चैलोक्यसुन्दरी जगद्विजयमल्लस्य वैजयन्ती मनोभुवः ॥[11*] ⁵पूर्व्वप्यशे-
- 20 षभूपालपुत्रीणामवरोधने । तस्यामौदयमहिषी सैव सामलवर्म्मणः ॥[12*] ⁶आसी-
- 21 त्तयोः सूरुरिहानुरूपः ⁷ श्रीभोजवर्म्मभयवं[दी]यः [1] पात्रेषु सर्व्वसु दगासु ये-
- 22 न स्नेही न रुप्तश्च हतं तमश्च ॥[13*] ⁸वा धिक् (क)ष्टमवीरमय भुवनं भूयोपि कं (वि) रत्नमा-
- 23 सुपातोयमु(प)स्थितोस्तु कुगला शङ्कासु लङ्काधिपः ॥[14*] ⁹इति यं गुणगाथाभिस्तुष्टा-
- 24 -व पुरु(रु)षोत्तमः [1*] मञ्जयन्निध वाग्ब्रह्ममथानन्द-महोदधौ ॥[15*] स खलु श्रीविक्रमपु-
- 25 रसमावासित-श्रीमञ्जयस्कन्धावासात् ¹⁰महाराजाधिराजश्रीसामलवर्म्मदेवपा-
- 26 दानुध्यात-परमवैशव-परमेश्वर-पु-समष्टारक-महाराजाधिराज-श्रीमहोदधौ (ः)

Reverse.

- 27 श्रीपौण्ड्रभुक्त्यन्तःपाति-अधःपत्तनमगुले कौशाम्बी-अष्टगच्छ-ख
- 28 गडलसं(वह)-उप्यलिकाग्रामे गुवाकादिसमेत-सपादनवद्रोणाधि-
- 29 कपाटकभूमौ समुपगताशेषराजभजन्यकराञ्चौराणकरा

¹ Metre: Śārdūlavikīṭita.

² Metre: Anuṣṭubh.

³ Mr. Banerji reads *ih-ānuāpāh* and Mr. Basak *ih=ānu[āh ?] yāh*.

⁴ Metre: Śārdūlavikīṭita.

⁵ Metre: Vasantatilaka.

⁶ Metre: Anuṣṭubh.

⁷ Mr. Banerji reads *ih-ānuāpāh* and Mr. Basak *ih=ānu[āh ?] yāh*.

⁸ Metre: Anuṣṭubh.

⁹ Metre: Indravajrā.

¹⁰ Metre: Indravajrā.

¹¹ Read *mahārāja*.

- 30 जपुत्रराजामात्यपुरोहित-पौठिकावित्त-महाधर्माध्यक्ष-महासान्निवि-
 31 ग्रहिक-महासेनापति-महामुद्राधिकृत-अन्तरङ्गहृदपङ्क्ति-महाक्षप-
 32 टलिक-महाप्रतीहार-महाभोगिक-महाव्यूहपति-महापौलुपति महाग-
 33 णस्थ-दौस्माधिक-चौरोद्धरणिक नौबलहस्त्यश्वगोमहिषाजाविकादि-
 34 व्यापृतक गौल्मिक दण्डपाशिक-दण्डनायक-विषयपत्यादेन् अन्यांश्च सक-
 35 लराजपादोपजौविनो ध्यक्षप्रचारोक्तान् इहाकीर्तितान् चट्ट-भट्टजाती-
 36 यान् जनपदान् क्षेत्रकांश्च ब्राह्मणान् ब्राह्मणोत्तरान् यथार्हम्मानयति
 37 बोधयति समादिशति च मतमस्तु भ(व)ताम् । यथोपरिलिखिता भूमिरियम् स्व-
 38 सीमावच्छिन्ना दणपूतिगोचरपर्यन्ता सतला सोद्देशा माम्नपनसा स-
 39 श्वाकनालिकेरा सन्नवणा सजलस्थ(ला) सगर्त्तधरा सद्यदशापराधा परि-
 40 हृतसर्वपीडा अचाडभङ्गप्रवेशा अकिञ्चित्-प्रयाद्या समस्तराजभोग-क-
 41 रहरिण्यप्रत्यायसहिता सावर्म्भसगोत्राय भृगु-च्यवन आप्रुवान् श्री
 42 र्व-जमदग्निप्रवराय वाजसनेयचरणाय यजुर्वेदकश्वशाखाध्यायि-
 43 ने मध्यदेशविनिर्गत(स्य) उत्तरर(ढा)यां सिद्धलग्रामीय पीताम्बरदेव
 44 शर्म्भेणः प्रपौत्राय जगन्नाथदेवशर्म्भेणः पौत्राय विश्वरूपदेवशर्म्भ-
 45 णः पुत्राय शान्त्यागाराधिकृतश्रीरामदेवशर्म्भेण । श्रीमता भोज-
 46 वर्म्भदेवेन । पुण्ये अहनि विधिवदुदकपूर्वकं कृत्वा भगवन्तं वासुदेवभ-
 47 द्दरकमुद्दिश्य मातापितृरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोऽभिवृद्धये आचन्द्रार्कंक्षि-
 48 तिसमकालं यावत् शु[भ्]मिच्छिद्रन्यायेन श्रीपृथिव्युक्कमुद्रया ताम्रशा-
 49 सनीकृत्य प्रदत्तास्माभिः ॥ भवन्ति चात्र वर्म्भानुशंसिनः श्लोकाः ॥
 50 ¹स्वदत्ताम्बरदत्ताम्बा यो हरेत् वसुधराम् स निष्ठायां क्रि(क्त)मिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह प-
 51 चते ॥[16*] श्रीमद्भोजवर्म्भदेवशादीयसम्भूत् ५ आवणादिने १४ [1*]

नि अतु महाक्ष नि [1*]

TRANSLATION.

Om ! Om ! Success !

(Verse 1). In this world the divine seer Atri was the offspring of Svayambhū (Brahmā). The Moon was born from the fire (generated in his eyes).

(Verse 2). From him was born Budha, son of Rohinī and from this,

Purūravas, son of Ilā, who was chosen (as the husband) by Kīrti, Ūrvaśī and Bhū.

(Verse 3). He again, like Manu, procreated Āyu : from that king was born the lord of the Earth Nahusha. and a son, the Mahārāja Yayāti sprang from him. He also got Yadu from whom has emanated this line of kings in which Vīraśrī and Hari were seen many times as if in actual manifestation.

(Verse 4). He (i.e., Hari)² again, in this world, appeared as Kṛishṇa, who sported with one hundred milk-maids as the leading figure of the Māhābharata. who was a worshipful being, a partial incarnation, and the uplifter of the burden of the Earth.

(Verse 5). The relatives of Hari who were the Varmmans, considering that 'the three Vedas cover the nakedness of men and (we) are neither devoid, of it nor are we naked'³—made themselves protected as it were by mail (*carman*), inasmuch as their hairs stood on end on account of their zeal for the three Vedas and remarkable fighting and having assumed a highly solemn title and possessing a pair of remarkable arms, dominated over Simhapura, which was like 'a cave of lions.'

(Verse 6). Once there was a person named Vajravarmman, who was the welfare (itself) of the victorious war expedition of the Yādava armies, who was the god of Death to his enemies, the Moon as it were to his friends, a poet among poets and scholar among scholars.

(Verse 7). From him was born Jātavarmman, just like Gāṅgeya (i.e., Bhīshma) from Śāntanu, to whom kindness was religion, battle—a sport, and charity—a great festivity.

(Verse 8). He spread his paramount sovereignty, by eclipsing (even) the glory of Prithu,⁴ son of Vepa, marrying Vīraśrī (daughter) of Karṇa, by extending his domination over the Aṅgas, by humiliating the dignity of Kāmarūpa, by bringing to disgrace the strength of the arms of Divya, by damaging the fortune of Govarddhana and by vesting wealth in Brahmins versed in the Vedas⁵.

(Verse 9). The illustrious Sāmalavarmmadeva whose name, in this world,

¹ I donot think there is here any veiled reference to Vīraśrī, wife of Jātavarman (v. 8). The verse seems to indicate that Vishnu and Lakshmi were reincarnate in the Yādava family as Kṛishṇa and Rādhā. The manifestation of Vishnu as Kṛishṇa is mentioned in the next verse (v. 4).

² I donot think there can be here an allusion to Harivarman as Mr. Banerji supposes (*loc. cit.*, p. 126).

³ Regarding the technical meaning of *nagna* ('naked') as those who disregard the Vedas see Mr. Basak's remarks *loc. cit.*, p. 41, n. 5.

⁴ Probably it indicates that just as Prithu was made the first king (*Harivamśa*, Ch. V, verses 30-31) so also Jātavarman was the first king of the dynasty.

⁵ In this verse the word *śrī* is used six times in six different senses.

is the first among those that bring on welfare, was born of Vīraśrī—how (else) shall I describe (him)?—“my master was endowed with all the virtues of a king, bad qualities did not, even to the slightest extent, find shelter in him.”

(Verse 10). His (i.e., Sāmālavarmman's) son was Udayin who even in battlefields that were full of many irresistible heroes, would see only one face, namely his own, reflected, in front of him, on his scimitar.

(Verse 11). (And) his (i.e., Sāmālavarmman's) daughter, was Trailokyasundarī through (his wife), Mālavyadevī¹, who was as it were the banner of the Mind-born one (i.e., the god of Love), the hero in the conquest of the whole world.

(Verse 12). It was she (i.e., Mālavyadevī) who became the Chief Queen of Sāmālavarmman, although his seraglio was full of the daughters of many kings.

(Verse 13). Their son in this world was Bhojavarmman, who resembled them and was the very lamp that illumined both the families (i.e., paternal and maternal), and who, in all circumstances, was not wanting in affection towards those that deserved it, and dispelled their sorrow².

(Verse 14). “O, Alas! has the world become to-day destitute of heroes? Has the calamity from the Rākshasas re-appeared? May the lord of Laṅkā (i.e., Rāvaṇa) fare well in these troubles?”³

(Verse 15). By such eulogistic verses Purushottama extolled him, making him plunge into the great ocean, namely that of bliss, emanating from Brahman who is the same as speech.

(Ll. 24-37). Now, from the illustrious ‘camp of victory’ situated at Vikramapura, the devout worshipper of Viṣṇu, the *Parameśvara*, *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious Bhoja, who meditates on the feet of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Sāmālavarmmadeva, duly honours, informs and commands all those that are present, namely, the *Rājans*, *Rājanyakas*, the queen, the *Rājakas*, the *Rājaputras*, the prime-minister, the priest, the *Pīṭhikāvīta*, *Mahātharmādhyaksha*, *Mahāsāndhicigrahika*, *Mahāsenāpati*, *Mahāmudrādhikṛita*, *Antaraṅga-bṛihaduparika*, *Mahākshapaṭalika*, *Mahāpratihāra*, *Mahābhogika*, *Mahāvṛyāhapati*, *Mahāpīlupati*, *Mahāgaṇastha*, *Daussādhika*, *Chauroddhara*—

¹ I take *Mālavyadevī* ‘āsī’ as *Mālavyadevī* ‘āsīt’ and not as *Mālavyadevī* ‘āsīt’ as others take it.

² According to Mr. Basak there is here a play on the words *pātra* (‘pot’ and ‘deserving person’), *daśā* (‘circumstances’ and ‘wick’), *speha* (‘coil’ and ‘affection’), and *tamaḥ* (‘darkness’ and ‘sorrow’).

³ Mr. Basak’s translation is: “Alack-a-day! Has the earth to-day again become devoid of heroes; this calamity with the *Rakshasas* has arisen, let him remain prosperous during the dangerous times as overlord of Laṅkā.” This is a most obscure passage. Cf. Konow, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 42, n. 3; also *ibid.*, p. 38.

nika and officers in charge of the fleet, infantry, elephants, horses, cows, buffaloes, goats, sheep etc., the *Gaulmikas*, *Danḍapāsakas*, *Danḍanāyakas*, *Vishayapati*s and others as well as all those that are dependant on the king, mentioned in the list of officers but not specified here, those of the class of *Chāṭas* and *Bhāṭas*, the provincial people, the cultivators, the Brāhmaṇas and the chief among Brāhmaṇas,---

(Ll. 27-29). in respect of 1 *pr̥ṭaka* and 9½ *droṇas* of land including betel-nut trees etc. in the village of *Upyalikā* belonging to the *Kauśāmbi-Ashtaḡachchha-Khaṇḍala*, in the *Adīahpattana-maṇḍala* of the *Peṇḍra-bhukti* :

(Ll. 37-41). Be it known to you that this plot of land as described above, circumscribed within its own boundaries, including grass, *pāṭi* plant, and pasture, with bottom and surface, with mango and jackfruit trees, with betel-nut and cocoanut trees, with salt, with land and water with pits and barren tracts, with toleration of Ten sins, exempt from all kinds of forced labour, not to be entered by *Chāḍas* and *Bhāḍas*, exempt from all dues, with all the income including taxes and gold enjoyed by the king -

(Ll. 41-49) has been made over by Us namely, the illustrious **Bhojavarmmadeva**, by means of a copper-plate charter and affixing the illustrious 'seal of Vishṇu's wheel,' in the name of lord Vāsudevabhāṭṭāraka, on this auspicious day, after having duly touched the water according to the principle of *Bhūmichchhidra*, for as long as the Sun and Moon (exist) and the Earth endures, for the increase of merit and fame of myself and my parents.

(Ll. 41-45) to Rāmadevaśarman, officer in charge of the room where propitiatory ceremonies are held, son of Viśvarūpadevaśarman, grandson of Jagannāthadevaśarman and great grandson of Pītāmbaradevaśarman who was an immigrant from *Madhyadeśa* and later on settled in the village of *Siddhala* in *Uttara-Rādhā*, belonging to the *Sāvārṇa gotra*, *Bhṛigu*, *Chyavana*, *Āpnuvāna*, *Aurvva* and *Jamadagni pravaras*, and the *Vājasaneyacharana*, and a student of the *Kāṇva-sākhā* of the *Yajurveda*.

(L. 49). There are also in this matter verses¹ in praise of Dharma :

(Verse 16). He who takes away land either given by himself or by others, rots with his ancestors as a worm in dirt.

(L. 51). The 5th year of the illustrious **Bhojavarmmadeva**, the 14th day of *Śrāvaṇa*—(Approved. Approved after this by the *Mahākshapaṭalika*.)

¹ There follows however one verse only.

IV. BHUVANEŚVAR INSCRIPTION OF BHATTA-BHAVADEVĀ.

This inscription was originally fixed on the temple of Ananta-Vāsudeva at **Bhuvaneśvar** in Purī District, Orissa. In 1810 it was taken out along with another inscription, which belongs to the reign of Aniyaṅkabhīma, by General Stewart and brought over to the Museum of the Asiatic Society at Calcutta. This was looked upon as a great sacrilege by the priests of Bhuvaneśvar; and in 1837 when Major Kittoe visited the place they made a representation to him and the Major arranged with the Asiatic Society for the restitution of the inscribed stones¹. These were accordingly sent back that very year, but instead of being replaced in their original positions, they were fixed on the western wall of the temple courtyard² where they may be seen to-day.

The inscription was first published in 1837 by James Prinsep, along with a translation by Captain G. T. Marshall, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. VI, pp. 88-97. This text and translation were subsequently reproduced by Rajendra Lal Mitra in 1880, in his *Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. II, pp. 85-87. The inscription was critically edited some twenty years later by Professor Kielhorn in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VI, pp. 203-207, from a set of ink impressions furnished by the Archaeological Survey of India. But no critical translation or mechanical reproduction³ of the record has yet been published. These are now supplied for the first time. The present edition is based on two estampages, one kindly lent to me by Rai Saheb Monoranjan Ghosh, Curator of the Patna Museum and the other belonging to the collection of the Museum of the Varendra Research Society.

The inscription is engraved on a slab of stone, and consists of 25 lines covering a space of 3' by 1' 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". The work is neatly and carefully done. Excepting a few letters in line 24 which are hopelessly effaced, the record is in an excellent state of preservation. The letters are about $\frac{1}{2}$ " in height.

The characters are of a Northern Nāgaī type and contain the 'proto-Bengali' forms that occur in the 11th and 12th century inscriptions of North-Eastern India. A general feature of the letters is the hollow triangular

¹ Prinsep, *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. VI (1837), pp. 278-80.

² Mitra, *Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 85.

³ An eye-copy of only the first line of the inscription was reproduced by Prinsep in *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. VI, pl. VII. Monmohan Chakravarti published a photograph of the inscription of Aniyaṅkabhīma in *J. A. S. B.*, N. S., Vol. VIII (1912), Pl. XIX and wrongly described it as the inscription of Bhavadeva (*ibid.*, p. 338 and p. 342, n. 3).

wedges appearing as part of the top-strokes, *e. g.*, in *pārijāta*, l. 20 and *tāpana*, l. 4. For the same feature cf. also the Māndā inscription of Gopāla III in Banerji's *Pālas of Bengal*, Pl. XXX, the Kamauli plates of Vaidyadeva in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 347 ff and Kielhorn's remarks in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 181, n. 6. Kielhorn refers the present inscription to about 1200 A.D., as according to him its characters are similar to those of the Bhuvaneśvar inscription of Aniyāṅkabhūma (cir. 1192 A. D.)¹. But the occurrence of comparatively advanced forms of some letters, such for instance as *ḍ*, *ṇḍ*, *h*, in the latter shows that the present inscription belongs to an earlier date. Palæographically, it bears marked resemblance, to the Belāva copper-plate. A comparison of such test-letters as *kh*, *g*, *ḍ*, *ṇ*, *t*, *s'* and *h*, occurring in this record and the Deopārā inscription tends to show that the former belongs to an earlier epoch. According to Mr. R. D. Banerji its characters are even older than those of the Bihār inscriptions of Rāmapāla who flourished towards the last quarter of the 11th century A.D.²

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and almost entirely in verse, excepting the introductory *om namo bhagavate Vāsudevāya* in line 1, probably a few words at the end of line 24 and the mention in line 25 that the record is a *praśasti* of Bhaṭṭa-Bhavadeva. It contains thirty-three verses which are composed in a variety of metres, viz. Vasantatilaka, Śārdūla-vikrīḍita, Āryā, Śloka, Upajāti, Śikharinī, Vamśastha, Sragdharā, Mandākrāntā, Mālinī and Praharṣinī. A rather clever use of puns characterises most of these verses. As Professor Kielhorn observes, 'for a *praśasti*, the style generally is simple and unpretending.' The poet, however, often shows a predilection for certain words and ideas which he repeats in different forms. Thus words denoting 'earth' occur no less than 18 times and of these as many as three are used in v. 27 alone; a phrase *adbhuta-sraṣṭā*, literally 'creator of wonder' is employed in v. 20 and the same with a little modification as *adbhuta-prasavitā* in v. 21; the word *dhāman* is used once in v. 31, twice in v. 32 and once again in v. 33; at least three persons are compared to the god Viṣṇu in vv. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 and to some extent in v. 18; and in v. 28 even a temple is likened to him³. But on the whole the composition is well-worded, properly balanced and does credit to the author.—As regards orthography it should be noted that both *v* and *b*

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 198ff and plate.

² *Bāṅglār Itihās*, pp. 303-4; for the approximate date of Rāmapāla see R. C. Majumdar, *J. A. S. B.*, N. S., Vol. XVII (1921), p. 6.

³ This occurs also in another Bhuvaneśvar inscription.—Barnett, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, p. 152, v. 22.

are represented by the same sign ; often a final *m* is conjoined with a following *p* or *v*, e. g., in *chakram-pāda*, l. 10 and *kshamām-vibhṛāṇasya*, l. 11 ; sometimes an *anusvāra* is used instead of final *m* at the end of a verse, e. g. *Achyut-opamaṇi*, l. 7 ; and that the dental nasal takes the place of *anusvāra* in *Mīmāṃsā*, l. 16 and l. 17, *amāṇsi*, l. 16 and *līlāvataṇs-*, l. 19.

The inscription purports to give an eulogistic account (*praśasti*) of the family of **Bhaṭṭa-Bhavadeva** (v. 2), and of Bhavadeva himself (l. 25). It begins with obeisance to god Vāsudeva (l. 1) and two invocatory stanzas, one in honour of god Hari (v. 1) and the other in the form of a prayer to the goddess of Speech (Vāgdevatā) so that the poet may be successful in his description of the family of Bhaṭṭa-Bhavadeva (v. 2). In Rāḍhā, in the country of Āryāvarta, there was a village called Siddhala where lived Brāhmaṇas who were the descendants of the sage Sāvarnṇa (v. 3). One of them was Bhavadeva (v. 5) who had an elder brother named Aṭṭahāsa (v. 6). He received (the village of) Hastinibhiṭṭa as a grant from the king of Gauḍa and had eight sons the eldest among whom was Rathāṅga (v. 7). From Rathāṅga was born Atyāṅga having another name Sphurita, and his son was Budha (v. 8). From Budha was born Ādideva (v. 9) who was the minister of peace and war to the king of Vaṅga (v. 10). His son Govarddhana was born of his wife Devakī and he married a lady Sarasvatī by name (v. 11). Govarddhana had also another wife Sāṅgokā who was the daughter of a Vandyaghaṭīya Brāhmaṇa (v. 13). Her son was Bhavadeva (v. 14) who for a long time served under king Harivarmmadeva as his minister of peace and war (v. 16). The latter had the title Parameśa ('paramount king', v. 18), and after him the kingdom appears to have passed to his son (v. 16), whose name is not mentioned in the inscription. Bhavadeva II, who is the hero of this *praśasti*, was prominent among the exponents of the Brahmādvaita system of philosophy and conversant with the writings of Bhaṭṭa (*i. e.* Kumārila) ; he was an antagonist of the Buddhists and refuted the opinions of heretic dialecticians (v. 20). He was proficient in *Siddhānta*, *Tantra* and *Gaṇita*, and had special keenness for Astrological Sciences (*Phalasaṃhitās*). He himself composed a book on Horoscopy (*Horāśāstra*) and was thus a second Varāha (v. 21). He wrote a treatise on Smṛiti as well and superseded the texts that were already in the field (v. 22). Following Bhaṭṭa he also wrote a guide to Mīmāṃsā philosophy. He was well-versed in other subjects also such as *Arthaśāstra*, *Āyurveda*, *Astraveda* and so forth (v. 23). He had another name **Bālavalabhī-bhujāṅga**

(v. 24). He excavated a tank on the waterless outskirts of a village¹ in (the province of) Rādhā (v. 26). He installed a stone image of Nārāyaṇa (v. 27) and built a temple² (v. 28). In the temple were placed the images of Nārāyaṇa, Ananta and Nṛsiṃha (v. 29) and a hundred damsels were engaged in the service of the god (v. 30). In front of the temple he excavated a tank (v. 31) and outside the temple laid out a garden (v. 32). This eulogy of Bhaṭṭa-Bhavadeva Bālavalabhī-bhujaṅga (l. 25) is the composition of his friend Vāchaspati, a Brāhmaṇa (v. 33).

About the *praśasti* of Bhavadeva, Professor Kielhorn observes: "its interest lies in the fact that it treats, not of kings and princes, but of a scholar". Researches carried on during the last quarter of a century have, however, made it possible to study the inscription also from other points of view which are equally interesting. In v. 9 it is stated that Bhavadeva's grand-father Ādideva served as minister under a king of Vaṅga and v. 16 says that Bhavadeva was a minister of Harivarmmadeva. The name of the king of Vaṅga is not mentioned and it is not possible to determine who he was. Of a Harivarmmadeva, king of East Bengal one copper-plate is known. It was issued from Vikramapura and mentions that the *Parama-Vaiṣṇava*, *Parameśvara*, *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* Harivarmmadeva was the son and successor of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Jyotirvarmmadeva. A Ms. of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* from Nepal, deposited in the Varendra Research Society is stated in its colophon as having been copied in the 19th regnal year of the *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Parameśvara*, *Paramabhāṭṭāraka* Harivarmmadeva. Another Ms. from Nepal, which is of *Laghukūlachakraṭikā* and is now kept in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, was copied in the 39th regnal year of king Harivarmmadeva³. Scholars have concluded that king Harivarmmadeva, whose minister Bhavadeva was, is the same Harivarmman who is mentioned in the copper-plate and the colophons of Mss. The Bhuvaneśvar inscription says that he reigned for a long time (*suchiram*), and this is confirmed by the colophon of the second Ms. from which it clearly follows that he ruled for at least 39 years.

Further references to Harivarmman are not known. But Mr. Banerji thinks that there is a veiled allusion to him in v. 3 of the Belāva copper-plate of Bhojavarmman, which says that 'Hari was born several times in the Yādava

¹ The name of the village is not mentioned. It was evidently Siddhala, the home of Bhavadeva.

² It is to be noted that the site where the edifice was erected is not mentioned in the epigraph.

³ See *Pālas of Bengal*, pp. 97-98; *Bāṅglār Itihās* (2nd ed.), pp. 302-304; Sāstri, *Descriptive Catalogue of Buddh. Sans. Mss.*, Vol. I (1917), p. 79.

dynasty.¹ He considers that Harivarmman flourished earlier than Bhojavarmman and earlier than also Rāmapāla.² In this connection attention may be drawn to the 15th verse of the Bhuvaneśvar inscription which is as follows :

लक्ष्मीं दक्षिणदोणि मन्त्रविभवे विश्वभरामण्डलं
जिह्वाये च सरस्वतीं रिपुतनौ नागान्तकं पत्त्रिणं ।
चक्रं पादतले निवेशितवता दिव्यं तदाद्यं वपुः
निज्ज्ञोतुं निजचिह्नमेतदमुना नूनस्त्रिपर्यासितम् ॥

In this verse the words *Lakshmī*, *viṣvambharāmaṇḍala*, *Sarasvatī*, *nāgāntaka* *patrin* and *chakra* have double application inasmuch as they refer both to Vishṇu and Bhavadeva. Thus *Lakshmī* means both 'consort of Vishṇu' and 'wealth'; *viṣvambharā*, both 'the earth' and 'kingdom', *Sarasvatī*, both the 'goddess of speech' and 'learning'; and *chakra*, 'the discus' as well as 'the circular mark' on the soles of feet. Now what could be the two meanings of 'nāgāntakapatrin'? In the case of Vishṇu it, of course, means the bird (*patrin*) who is 'the exterminator of serpents (*nāgas*).', i. e., Garuḍa, the carrier of Vishṇu. When, it refers to Bhavadeva the word *patrin* can only mean 'the arrow'. And 'the arrow' could be described as *Nāgāntaka* if we take *Nāga* to mean the *Nāgavamśī* kings who during 11th century A.D. occupied the present Bastar state in the Central Provinces. They are known from a number of inscriptions³ and seem to be referred to in the *Rāmacharita*. Towards the end of Ch. III of the *Rāmacharita*, Sandhyākara Nandī describes the conquest of Kalinga and Utkala by Rāmapāla. That Rāmapāla advanced upto the sea-coast of Orissa is evident from v. 42 :

स विशालशैलमालि तालीबद्धमस्त्रधिं साक्षात् ।
अपि पूर्त्तं पष्करिणीभूतं रचयास्त्रभूव भूपालः ॥

The 'Nāgas' are mentioned in the next verse the text of which unfortunately is corrupt :

तुङ्गमहाभोगालिर्धरालधिमभाक् महावलखायः (स्थानः) ।
तेन व्यधाय(जा)नागा नाकस्याहिलया भरभृत् ॥ (१)

The next verse, i. e. v. 44 says that Rāmapāla was propitiated by a Varmman king of the East for the latter's own safety and presented by him with an elephant and his own chariot. Finally, in v. 45 it is stated that

¹ Cf. above p. 22, n. 2 where I have stated that 'Hari' in the verse in question need not be taken as Harivarmman. But on further consideration I think that Mr. Banerji's assumption may be right.

² *Bāṅglār Itihās* (2nd ed.), pp. 303-4.

³ Hiralal, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 161-64; also *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 25 et seq. The kings are called *Nāgavamśodbhava* in their inscriptions.

Rāmapāla favoured (or reinstated) the vanquished (*jita*) king of Utkala (*Utkalatra*) who possessed the territory of a *Bhavarabhūṣaṇa-santati* :

स्वपरित्वाणनिमित्तं पत्या यः प्राग्दिशेयेन ।

वरवारणेन च निजस्यन्दनदानेन वस्त्रधारणे ॥

भवभूषणसन्ततिभुवमनुजग्राह जितमुत्कलत्रं यः ।

जगदवति स्म समस्तं कलिङ्गतस्तान् निशाचरान् निघ्नन् ॥

The expression *Bhavarabhūṣaṇa-santati*, literally 'offspring of Śiva's ornament' has been taken by M. M. Haraprasād Śāstrī and Mr. R. D. Banerji in the sense of 'the Nāgavamśī dynasty'.¹ The reference in the *Rāmācharita* to the Nāgas and a Varman king of the East who was humbled by Rāmapāla, throws light on this inscription in which Bhavadeva's 'arrow' is described as *nāyāntaka*, i. e. 'exterminator of the Nāgas'. It would seem that Rāmapāla encountered somewhere in Orissa Harivarmman of Bengal or his son and that the latter had overthrown the Nāga king and made himself master of Utkala. Harivarmman's minister Bhavadeva must have erected the temple after the death of his master, as v. 16 clearly speaks of his son as having come to the throne. The name of the son is, however, not mentioned. Possibly it was during the reign of this Varman king that Rāmapāla led an army into Orissa and was successful in defeating him. At the time when the temple was erected Harivarmman's son had probably lost all political importance, so much so that it was not worth while even for a panegyrist to mention his name.

Bhavadeva, according to his *prasaṣti*, must have been a remarkable person.² He was not only a politician but also scholar and writer of a high order. He wrote on Mīmāṃsā philosophy, Astronomy, Astrology and Smṛiti. On Mīmāṃsā, we know of only one work of his, the *Tantātīla-mata-tilaka* which is a gloss on Kumārila's *Tantravārttika*³ and evidently referred to in verse 23 of the inscription (*Mīmāṃsāyām upāyaḥ sa khalu virachīto yena Bhaṭṭ-oktanīyā* etc.) This work is known only from the fragment of a Ms. in the India Office Library. None of Bhavadeva's works dealing with Astronomy or Astrology has yet been discovered. Regarding his

¹ *Mem. As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. III, No. 1 (*Rāmācharita*), Introduction, p. 15; *Bāṅglūr Itihās* (2nd ed.), p. 293 and n. 67. Śāstrī and Banerji take *Bhava-bhūṣaṇa* to mean 'the serpent', while according to R. P. Chanda, it is to be taken in the sense of 'Moon' (*Gauda-rājamālā*, p. 51).

² See M. Chakravarti's article, "Bhaṭṭabhadra of Bengal", *J. A. S. B., N. S.*, Vol. VIII (1912), pp. 333-47.

³ Known also as *Tantravārttikaṭīkā* ³, Aufrecht, *Catal. Cat.*, part II, p. 90.

treatises on Smṛiti we have the wellknown *Karmānushṭhāna-paddhati* or *Daśa-karmapaddhati* and the *Prāyaścittaprakaraṇa*. The former has been published several times and the latter is being published by the Varendra Research Society. Some colophons of the two works add the epithet 'Bāla-Valabhī-bhujāṅga' to Bhavadeva's name ; and in some Mss. the colophon of the first chapter of the *Prāyaścittaprakaraṇa* describes him as *Sāndhivigrahika*. This leaves no doubt that the author of the two works and Bhaṭṭa-Bhavadeva of the Bhuvaneśvar *prasaṭi* are identical. There are many other books attributed to Bhavadeva, but as they do not mention either his epithet or official designation his identity with our Bhavadeva is extremely doubtful. There is another wellknown example, in the history of Bengal, of a minister, who was also scholar and author. This is Halāyudha, minister of Lakshmanasena and the reputed author of the *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva* and a number of other works.¹ The epithet Bāla-valabhī-bhujāṅga has been the subject of much speculation,² but has not yet been satisfactorily explained. The word 'Bāla-valabhī' occurs, however, as a place name in the *Rāmacharita* commentary (*Mem. As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. III, No. 1, p. 36). The situation of Bāla-valabhī is not known. The commentary places it in or near Devagrāma which also is equally obscure. It is impossible to ascertain at the present state of our knowledge why Bhavadeva was called 'the serpent of Bāla-valabhī'. A place called Vṛiddhavalabhī situated in the Gauḍa country is mentioned in the colophon of a Ms. of the *Sarvadevapratishṭhā-paddhati* of Trivikramasūri.³ Thus it appears that there were Valabhī major and also Valabhī minor in Bengal. Regarding other geographical terms in the record the separate mention of Gauḍa and Vaṅga respectively in the expressions *Gauḍa-nṛipa* (v. 7) and *Vaṅga-rāja* (v. 10) indicates that these were probably separate principalities in those days. Siddhala⁴ (the native place of Bhavadeva) is mentioned also in the Belāva copper-plate (above p. 19). The village Hastinibhitta is not known from any other record. None of these two villages has yet been identified with certainty.

The identity of Vāchaspati, the composer of the eulogy, who describes himself as a friend of Bhavadeva, has not yet been established. It is evidently he who is mentioned along with Bhavadeva in the colophon of a Ms. of the

¹ *J. A. S. B.*, N. S., Vol. XI (1915), p. 327ff.

² *Pālas of Bengal*, p. 99, *Bāṅglār Itihās*, p. 288 and the references there cited.

³ *Sāstrī, Descriptive Cat. of Sans. Mss.*, Vol. III (1925) p. 529.

⁴ Siddhala, according to the Bengal Kulapañjikās, was one of the 56 villages of the Rādhīya Brāhmaṇas and granted to Vasishṭha, a Brāhmaṇa of the Sāvarna gotra—see *Gauḍa Brāhmaṇa*, p. 164.

Karmānushthānapaddhati in the Sanskrit College, Calcutta.¹ There is also a verse ascribed to one Vāchaspati in Śrīdhara's *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*.² Rajendra Lal Mitra identified the writer of the *praśasti* with the wellknown Vāchaspati Miśra, but this view has not been accepted.³

Depending on literary sources Monmohan Chakravarti has worked out the date of Bhavadeva.⁴ He is cited in the *Karmopadeśinīpaddhati* of Aniruddha who is regarded as identical with Aniruddha, the religious preceptor of king Vallālasena. According to certain Mss. of the *Dānasāgara* and *Adbhutasāgara* Vallālasena was living in 1169 A. D. In his *Prāyaścittaprakaraṇa* Bhavadeva refers to the opinion of a Smṛiti writer Viśvarūpa who is looked upon as later than Bhoja, king of Dhārā (1021 A. D.). From this calculation it has been assumed that the date of Bhavadeva lies between *circa* 1025 and 1150 A. D. We have already seen that on the strength of palaeography and internal evidence furnished by the present inscription its date and consequently the date of Bhavadeva, should be taken to be earlier than the first quarter of the 12th century and even the last quarter of the 11th century A. D. A more definite estimate of his time cannot I daresay be formed at present in the absence of any further data.

The temple erected by Bhavadeva is the same as the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple at Bhuvaneśvar, which is next in sanctity and importance only to the great Liṅgarāja Temple. It has been described and illustrated by Rajendra Lal Mitra,⁵ Monmohan Chakravarti⁶ and Monmohan Ganguly.⁷ The temple is a remarkable example of Orissan Architecture and is undoubtedly a highly creditable achievement on the part of Bhavadeva. The tank referred to in the inscription is no longer traceable and some scholars are of opinion⁸ that "it has been probably absorbed in the great tank of Vindusāgara."

TEXT.

1 ॐ⁹ नमो भगवते वासुदेव[र]य¹⁰ ॥ ¹¹गाढोपगूढकमलाकुचकुम्भपद्मसुद्राङ्कितेन¹² वपुषा
परिरिप्मान [ः] । मा लुप्यतामभिनवा वनमालिकेति वाग्देवतोपहसितोस्तु हरिः श्रिये
वः ॥ [1*] ¹³वाल्यात् प्रभृत्यहरहृद्यदुपासितासि वाग्दे-

¹ J. A. S. B., N. S., Vol. VIII (1912), p. 333.

² M. Chakravarti, *op. cit.*, p. 342.

³ *Antiquities of Orissa*, vol. II, p. 83ff and pl. XXXVI.

⁴ *Orissa and her Remains*, p. 369ff and pl. XVII (B).

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ The medial ā sign is made by a short upright stroke which seems to have been inserted after the first two letters were engraved.

⁷ *Metre*: Vasantatilaka.

⁸ *Bib. Ind.*, ed., p. 13.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 342-45.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, pls. XV—XVIII, and XX.

¹¹ M. Chakravarti, *op. cit.*, p. 338.

¹² Originally *mudr-āṅkito* was engraved.

¹³ *Metre*: Vasantatilaka.

- 2 वते तदधुना फलतु प्रसीद । वक्तास्मि भट्टभवदेवकुलप्रशस्तिसूक्ताक्षराणि रसनाग्र-
मधिश्रयेथाः ॥ [2*] ¹सावर्म्ण्यस्य मुनेर्महीयसि कुले ये जज्ञिरे श्रोत्रिया स्तेषां शासन-
भूमयो जनिगृह्यन्तामाः² शतं सन्तु ते । आर्यावर्त्तभुवास्मि³
- 3 भूषणमिह ख्यातस्तु सर्व्वाग्रिमो ग्रामः सिद्धल एव केवलमलङ्कारोस्ति राढाश्रियः ॥
[3*] ⁴सत्पल्लवः स्थितिमयो दृढबद्धमूलः शाखाग्रलग्नमुखरद्विजशोलितश्रीः । न
ग्रन्थिलो न कुटिलः सरलः सुपर्वा सर्व्वोन्नतः सुखमिह प्रसार वंशः ॥ [4*]
- 4 ⁵तदंशोत्तंसमणेः⁶ कलश⁷ दातापि तापनप्रतिमः । भव इव विद्यातत्त्वप्रभवः प्रबभूव
भवदेवः ॥ [5*] ⁸अग्रजानुजयोर्मध्ये महादेवाद्दृष्टासयोः । स जज्ञे यज्ञपुरुषो
विरिञ्चिहरयोरिव ॥ [6*] ⁹स शासनं गौडनृपादवा-
- 5 प श्रोहस्तिनौभिदृमभौष्टभूमि । अष्टौ सुतानष्ट महेशमूर्त्तिप्रख्यान् विजज्ञे य रथाङ्ग-
मुख्यान् ॥ [7*] ¹⁰रथाङ्गादत्यङ्गः समजनि जनानन्दजननः शशीव क्षीरोदादविकल-
कलाकेलिनिलयः । स्फुरत्प्रज्ञाज्योतिः स्फुरित इति नाम्ना द्वि-
- 6 शि दिशि प्रकाशोभूत्सौम्यग्रह इव बुधस्तस्य तनयः ॥ [8*] ¹¹तस्मादभूदभिजना-
भ्युदयैकवीजमव्याजपौरुषमहातरुमूलकन्दः । श्रीआदिदेव¹² इति देव इवादि-
मूर्त्तिर्मूर्त्त्यात्मना भुवनमेतदलङ्करीणुः ॥ [9*] ¹³यो वङ्गराज-
- 7 राज्यश्रीविश्रामसचिवः शुचिः । महामन्त्री महापात्रमबन्धुः सन्धिविग्रही ॥ [10] ¹⁴स
देवकौगर्भभवं भुवः स्थितौ समर्थमुच्चैःपदलब्धपौरुषं । सरस्वतीजानिमजीजनत्सुतं
जगत्सु गोवर्द्धनमच्युतोपमं¹⁵ ॥ [11*] ¹⁶वीरस्थलीषु च सभासु च ती-
- 8 र्थिकानां दो[र्ल]लया¹⁷ च कलया च वचस्वितायाः । यो वर्द्धयन् वसुमतीञ्च सरस्वतीञ्च
हेधा व्यधत्त निजनामपदं सदर्थं¹⁸ ॥ [12*] ¹⁹वन्द्यां वन्द्यघटीयस्य ब्रह्मणः प्रयतां
सताम् । साङ्गीकामङ्गनारत्नमयीं स परिणीतवान् ॥ [13*] ²⁰तस्यां स्वप्र[वि]धा-
- 9 नबोधितनिजोत्पादः स देवो हरिर्जातः श्रीभवदेवमूर्त्तिरमुतः क्षामण्डलीकश्यपात् ।
यत्पाणिप्रणयि हयञ्जलजयोरालक्षितं लक्षणा यस्यान्तर्निहितोस्ति कौस्तुभ इति ज्ञानं
प्रकाशोदयात् ॥ [14*] ²¹लक्ष्मीन्दक्षिणदोणि मन्त्रविभवे विश्व-

¹ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁴ Metre : Vasantatilaka.⁷ The actual reading is either *kalāṣya dātāpi* or *kalāṣya dātāpi*. Kielhorn suggests the reading *kalāṣya dātāpi*. Prinsep corrected it as *phalāṣya dātāpi* which I think may be safely adopted.⁸ Metre : Anuṣṭubh.¹ Metre : Vasantatilaka.³ Metre : Anuṣṭubh.⁵ Metre : Vasantatilaka.⁸ Read *sadartham*.²⁰ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.² Read *janigriha-grāmāh*.⁵ Metre : Āryā.⁷ Metre : Āryā.⁹ Metre : Upajāti.¹¹ Metre : Vāṇīśāstha.¹³ Metre : Vāṇīśāstha.¹⁵ Read *-apamam*.¹⁷ The superscript *r* stroke is not clear.¹⁹ Metre : Anuṣṭubh.²¹ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.³ Read *bhuvām vibhūṣaṇa*.⁶ Read *mayih*.¹² Read *mayih*.¹⁴ Read *mayih*.¹⁶ Read *mayih*.¹⁸ Read *mayih*.²⁰ Read *mayih*.²² Read *mayih*.

- 10 अरामण्डलं जिह्वाग्रे च सरस्वतीं रिपुतनौ नागान्तकं पक्षिणं । चक्रम्यादतले निवेशित-
वता दिव्यन्तदायम्बु¹र्निर्झोतुन्निजचिह्नमेतदमुना नूनम्बिपर्यासितं² ॥ [15*] ³यन्मन्त्र-
शक्तिसचिवः सुचिरं चकार राज्यं स धर्मविजयी
- 11 हरिवर्मदेवः । तस्मन्दने वलति यस्य च दण्डनीतिवर्मानुगा⁴ बहलकल्पलतेव लक्ष्मीः ॥
[16*] ⁵सत्पात्रस्य महाशयस्य कमलाधारस्य यस्य क्षमास्त्रिभ्राणस्य⁶ गुणाम्बुधे
रकलितस्यान्तर्ग दीनात्मनः । मर्यादा-महिमप्रसा-
- 12 दशचितागाम्भीर्यैर्यथैस्थितिप्रायाः प्रायश एव वाक्पथमतिक्रान्ताः स्वदन्ते गुणाः ॥
[17*] ⁷महागौरी कीर्त्तिः स्फुरदसिकराला भुजलता रणक्रीडा चण्डी रिपुरुधिरचर्चा
रणभुवः [1*] महालक्ष्मीर्म्मूर्त्तिः प्रकृतिललि-
- 13 तास्ता⁸गिर इति प्रपञ्चः शक्तीनां यमिह परमेशं प्रथयति ॥ [18*] ⁹यद्ब्राह्मतेजसि
बलीयसि मन्दवीर्यः खद्योतपोतकरणिं तरणिस्तनीति । उच्चैरुदञ्चति यदीययशःशरीरे
जातस्तुषारशिखरी ननु जानुदघ्नः ॥ [19*] ¹⁰ब्रह्मा-
- 14 हैतविदामुदाहरणभूरुद्रूतविद्याङ्गतस्रष्टा भट्टगिरां गभीरिमगुणप्रत्यक्षदृष्ट्वा कविः । बीजा-
श्लोनिधिक्षुभसम्भवमुनिः पाषण्डवैतण्डिकप्रज्ञाखण्डनपण्डितोयमवनी सर्व्वज्ञलीलायते ॥
[20*] ¹¹सिद्धान्ततन्त्रगणि-
- 15 तार्क्ष्यवपारदृष्ट्वा विश्वाङ्गतप्रसविता फलसंहितासु । कर्त्ता स्वयं प्रथयिता च नवीनहोरा-
शास्त्रस्य यः स्फुटमभूदपरो वराहः ॥ [21*] ¹²यो धर्मशास्त्रपदवीषु जरन्निबन्धानन्वी-
चकार रचितोचितसत्प्रबन्धः । सुव्याख्यया विशद-
- 16 यन्म निधर्मगाथाः स्मार्त्तक्रियाविषयसंशयमुन्ममायुर्ज्ज ॥ [22*] ¹³मीमान्सायासुपायः¹⁴
स खलु विरचितो येन भट्टोक्तनीत्या यत्र न्याया सहस्रं रविकिरणसमा न क्षमन्ते
तमान्सि¹⁵ । किं भूम्ना सीम्नि सान्नां सकलकविकलास्वागमेष्वर्थ-
- 17 शास्त्रेष्वायुर्व्वे¹⁶दास्त्रवेदप्रभृतिषु कृतधीरद्वितीयोयमेव ॥ [23*] ¹⁷यस्य खलु
बालवलभीभुजङ्ग इति नाम नादृतं केन । मीमान्सायापि¹⁸ सपुलकमाकर्षितवर्षि-
तोद्गीतं¹⁹ ॥ [24*] ²⁰दंष्ट्रालदुष्टभुजगव्रणमोहरात्रि²¹ प्रत्युषतूर्थनिन-
- 18 दैरिव मन्त्रवर्षैः । यो जीवयन्²² जगदशेषमभूदपूर्व्वमृत्युञ्जयो गरलकेलिषु नीलकण्ठः ॥

¹ Read *āḍyaṁ*.⁴ Originally *cartm-* was engraved.⁷ Metre : Sikkharipi.⁹ Metre : Vasantatilaka.¹⁰ Metre : Śārdūlavikriḍita.¹³ Metre : Śragdharā.¹⁶ The sign for superscript *r* is not clear.¹⁸ Read *mīmāṃsāy*—.²¹ Kichhorn reads *rātri-pratyūsha*. But the above arrangement would give a better sense.²² Read *i ivayān*—.² Read *nūnan viparyāṣitam*.⁵ Metre : Śārdūlavikriḍita.⁸ The letter *tā* lo k; like *nā* in the facsimile.¹¹ Metre : Vasantatilaka.¹⁴ Read *mīmāṃsāyām*.¹⁹ Read *-gītam*.³ Metre : Vasantatilaka.⁶ Read *kṣamān*.¹² Metre : Vasantatilaka.¹⁵ Read *tamāmsi*.¹⁷ Metre : Āryā.²⁰ Metre : Vasantatilaka.

[25*] ¹राढायामजलासु जाङ्गलपथग्रामोपकण्ठस्थलोसीमासु अममग्नपात्रपरिषत्-
प्राणाशय-प्रीणनः । येनाकारि जलाशयः प-

19 रिसरस्नाताभिजाताङ्गना वक्ताजप्रतिबिम्बमुग्धमधुपीशून्याञ्जनीकाननः ॥ [26*]

²तेनायं भगवान् भवास्ववसमुत्ताराय नारायणः शैलसेतुरिव प्रसाधितधरापीठः प्रतिष्ठा-
पितः । यः प्राचीवदनेन्दुनीलतिलको लीलावतन्सोत्पलं³ भू-

20 मेभूर्तलपारिजातविटपी संकल्पसिद्धिप्रदः ॥ [27*] ⁴तेन प्रासाद एष त्रिपुरहरेगिरि-
स्पर्द्धया वद्धितश्रीः श्रीमान्⁵ श्रीवच्छलक्ष्मा⁶ हरिरिव विहितो विस्फुरच्चक्रचिह्नः । जित्वा
यो वैजयन्तं वियति वितनुते वैजयन्तीविलासान् कैलासे

21 नाभिलाषं कलयति गिरिशो यस्य संलक्ष्य लक्ष्मीं⁷ ॥ [28*] ⁸न्यवीविशद्देशमनि तत्र विष्णोः
स निर्भरं गम्भेयहान्तरेषु । नारायणानन्तन्तुसिंहमूर्तिर्विधातवक्त्रेष्विव वेदविद्याः
[29*] ⁹एतस्मै हरिमेषसे वसुमतोविश्रान्तविद्याधरोविभ्रान्ति-

22 न्धतोः शतं स हि ददौ शारङ्गशावीट्टशः । दग्धस्योग्रदृशा दृशेव दिशतीः कामस्य
संजीवनं काराः कामिजनस्य सङ्गमगृहं सङ्गीतकेलिययां¹⁰ ॥ [30*] ¹¹प्रासादाये
स खलु जगतः पुण्यपण्यैकवीथीं चक्रे वापीं मरकतमणिस-

23 च्छसुच्छायतोयां । मध्येवारि प्रतिष्ठतिमिषाद्दर्शयन्तीव तादृग्विष्णोर्दामाहुतमहिकुल-
स्याधिकं या चकास्ति ॥ [31*] ¹²व्यधित विबुधधान्नः सीन्नि संसारसारं स खलु निखिल-
नेत्रानन्दनिस्यन्दपात्रं । त्रिभुवनजयखिन्नानङ्गविश्रा-

24 मधाम प्रथितरतिविभावस्थानमुद्यानरत्नं¹³ ॥ [32*] ¹⁴तस्यैव प्रियसुहृदा द्विजाग्रिमेष
श्रीवाचस्पति-कविना कृता प्रशस्तिः । आकल्पं शुचिसुरधाममूर्त्तिकीर्त्तं रध्यास्तां
जघनमियं सुवर्षकाञ्ची ॥ [33*].....¹⁵

25 प्रशस्तिरियं बालवलभौभुजङ्गापरनाम्नो भट्टश्रीभवदेवस्य ॥¹⁶

¹ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

² Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

³ Read -*śrīvatsū*.

⁴ Metre : Sragdharā.

⁵ Read -*śrīvatsū*.

⁶ Read -*śrīvatsū-lakṣmī*. The ā- stroke is very carelessly engraved.

⁷ Read -*lakṣmīm*.

⁸ Metre : Upajāti.

⁹ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

¹⁰ Read -*śrīyām*.

¹¹ Metre : Mandākrāntī.

¹² Metre : Mālinī.

¹³ Read -*ratnam*.

¹⁴ Metre : Praharṣiṇī.

¹⁵ As Professor Kielhorn observes, there are here about 8 akṣaras entirely illegible. The concluding ones he tentatively reads as [sa] mkkh [yā] [33 ?] denoting the total number of verses. This is, however, extremely doubtful.

¹⁶ In the subjoined facsimile the sign for anusvāra and parts of conjunct letters, especially those that constitute the second member in a group, are in many cases indistinct or do not appear at all. In the foregoing transcript I have not purposely put them within brackets as the indistinctness or non-appearance may be due to the defect of my estampages and not to the carelessness of the scribe. It may be noted that Kielhorn also does not put these letters within brackets.

TRANSLATION.

• (Line 1). Om ! Om ! Adoration to the lord Vāsudeva.

(Verse 1). May Hari make you prosperous (the god) who being desirous of embracing (Sarasvatī) with his body marked with the saffron-lines on the jar-like breasts of Lakshmī (already) held by him in deep embrace was thus taunted by the goddess of speech (Sarasvatī) "Do not spoil (thy) fresh garland (Oh ! lord !)."

(Verse 2). Oh ! goddess of Speech ! may you now fulfil (my desire) and be propitious (unto me), since I have been worshipping you daily from my very childhood. I shall have presently to recite fine syllables of eulogy of the family of **Bhaṭṭa-Bhavadeva** may you (therefore) reside in the tip of my tongue.

(Verse 3). There may be a hundred villages which contain gift-lands and are the birth place of Brāhmanas versed in the Vedic lore, born in the illustrious lineage of the sage Sāvārṇa ; but the only one that is famous in this world and has adorned the country of Āryāvarta is the village of **Siddhala**, the foremost of all and the ornament of the fortune-goddess of **Rādhā**.

(Verse 4). Here spread out the family² (tree) with ease, having fine twigs fixed (in a particular place), with its root firmly established, having beauty enhanced by chirping birds resting on the extremities of its branches, without any knot, without being crooked, straight, having excellent joints and as the highest of all.

(Verse 5). There was born **Bhavadeva**, the crest-jewel of that family who even like the sun-god, was a giver of fruit and like Śiva (himself), the source of the true principles of knowledge.

(Verse 6). Between his elder and younger brothers **Mahādeva** and **Aṭṭahāsa** he was like 'the soul of sacrifice,' i. e., Vishṇu, between Brahṁā and Śiva³

(Verse 7). He received as grant (the village of) **Hastinibhiṭṭa** which was the land to his heart, from the king of **Gauḍa**, and looked upon his

¹ Kielhorn (*op. cit.*, p. 203) takes *śāsanabhūmayah* and *janigrihagrāmāḥ* as two independent nouns.

² In the case of 'the family' the words used with reference to 'the tree' would mean that the family consists of excellent members, was well-established and known for simplicity, straight-forwardness, and other good qualities and that it yielded eloquent (*mukhara*) Brāhmanas (*devīja*), cultivating (*śīla*) the various branches (*śākhā*) of the Vedas.

³ Here is a reference to the well-known Trimūrti conception according to which Vishṇu's place would be in the middle of the three gods.

eight sons as the eight forms of Mahēśa (Śiva)¹ of whom the eldest was Rathāṅga.

(Verse 8). From Rathāṅga was born Atyaṅga, the source of the delight of men, as the Moon, who is (as it were) the place of revelry of the undiminished digits,² from the Ocean of Milk. His son was Budha comparable to the planet (Budha), son of Soma, (possessed of another) name Sphurita, and emitting a lustre of wisdom he became resplendent in all the quarters.

(Verse 9). From him was born Ādideva, the unique seed of prosperity of the family and the very root of the great tree of true manliness,³ resembling the Primeval god (Brahmā) adorning this world by his human body⁴.

(Verse 10). That holy (person) was a minister to His Royal Majesty the king of Vaṅga in his time of relaxation and was successful as (his) supreme councillor and supreme official, in peace and war.

(Verse 11). He begat on his wife Devakī, for the preservation of the earth, a son (known) in the (three) worlds as Govarddhana who was a compeer of Achyuta (Kṛishṇa). He was an able person, his manly attainments⁵ had reached a high standard and he had Sarasvatī as his wife.

(Verse 12). Having increased (both his) land and learning in battlefields (lit. in the fields of heroes) and assemblies of heretics, (respectively) by the feat of his arms and (display) of oratorical skill he justified his name (Govarddhana)⁶ in a twofold sense.

(Verse 13). He accepted as his (second) wife Sāṅgokā, the adorable and pious daughter of a Vandyaghaṭīya⁷ Brāhmaṇa, who was a jewel among ladies.

(Verse 14). Of her and that Kaśyapa (sage)⁸ of the earth was born lord Hari in his manifestation as Bhavadeva after having foreboded his birth in a dream. A couple of lotuses had attachment for his lands and these could be recognised in the (lotus) marks (on his palms)⁹; and (so also was)

¹ The eight forms of Śiva are Śarva, Paśupati, Ugra, Rudra, Mahādēva, Bhava, Īśvara, and Bhīma representing respectively the earth, fire, sacrificer, sun, water, wind, moon and the sky. (*Āgṇipurāṇa*, Ānandāśrama ed., Ch. 96, vv. 83-4). It is wellknown from Kālidāsa's reference in the beginning verse of *Sakuntala*.

² The word *kalā* in the case of Atyaṅga will mean the 64 arts.

³ The expression *acyāja-pauruṣa* may in the case of Brahmā mean 'the Real Being', or Brahman.

⁴ In this verse the words *martya* and *deva* are used as antonyms.

⁵ For the word *pauruṣa* cf. v. 9 above.

⁶ There is an evident play on the word *go* which has 'earth' as one of its meanings.

⁷ Vandyā is one of the 56 villages of the Rādhīya Brāhmaṇas. Those who are supposed to be descendants of the Brāhmaṇas of Vandyā-grāma are now called 'Vandyopādhyāyas' or 'Banerjis'.

⁸ According to mythology Kaśyapa is the father of Viṣṇu.

⁹ The poet here probably wants to indicate that only one lotus is held by Viṣṇu in one of his hands but Bhavadeva had two such lotuses.

the (existence of the) Kaustubha (jewel)¹ in his heart (known) from the increase of his glory.

(Verse 15). By that one was truly revolutionised (the usual order of) his own characteristic marks,² since he placed Lakshmī on his righthand side, the Earth, under the influence of his counsel³, Sarasvatī, on the tip of his tongue, the bird Garuḍa (Nāgāntaka), in the body of his enemies, and the discus, on (the soles of) his feet, in order to conceal his divine, primordial body.

(Verse 16). With him as his minister in matters relating to peace and war⁴, that king Harivarmmadeva, who gained lawful victory, ruled the kingdom for a long time. In his garden (or son)⁵ flourished his Fortune goddess who followed the path laid out in the Principles of Government⁶, like the luxuriant Kalpalatā creeper.

(Verse 17). There was no limit to that undivided ocean of virtues, (namely) that humble-minded one. He was a worthy and magnanimous being, the support of Lakshmī and the upholder of the earth. His virtues, (for instance), self-respect, dignity, gentleness, purity, gravity, patience and steadfastness, which were beyond the range of verbal expression, were as a rule appreciated (by the people.)

(Verse 18). (The goddess) Mahāgaurī, (namely his) Fame, (the goddess) Chāṇḍī revelling in warfare and besmeared with the blood of enemies in the field of battle, (namely his) creeper-like arms fearful on account of the flashing sword, (the goddess) Mahālakshmī, (namely his own) appearance, and that Speech (of his) beautiful by nature—this assemblage of the different Female energies (goddesses) reveals him to be 'the paramount lord' (*Parameśa*), in this world.

(Verse 19). Before his magnificent Brahmanic glory (even) the Sun (becomes) lacking in lustre and assumes the appearance of a small glow-worm. Even the 'ice-peaked one' (i.e. the Himalayas) reaches really upto the knees (when compared with) the body of his fame rising upwards.

(Verse 20).⁷ He stands as an example to those who are conversant with

¹ The traditional idea is that the possessor of the Kaustubha jewel attains prosperity.

² Vishṇu should have Lakshmī to his left, Sarasvatī to his right, the discus in his hand, Garuḍa as his carrier and the Earth goddess between his feet (*Haribhaktivilāsa*, XVIII vilāsa). There seems to be a pun on *nāga* and *patrin* in the passage *ripūtanau nāgāntakam patrinam*. It has been explained above.

³ He holds the earth in *mantravibhava* i. e. rules it according to the policy of peace and war (*mantraśakti*).

⁴ *Mantraśakti* is one of the three kinds of *Sakti* viz. *utsāha-śakti*, *mantraśakti* and *prabhuśakti*. That which is concerned with peace and war is *mantraśakti* or 'statecraft' which is looked upon as superior to both *prabhuśakti* and *utsāhaśakti*. See *Agnipurāṇa* quoted in *Rājāniti-prakāśa*, Benares 1916, p. 306 and *mantramūlīm* = *idaṁ rājyam* of Yājñavalkya quoted in *ibid.*, p. 308.

⁵ There is a pun here on the word *nandana* which means both 'son' and 'heavenly garden'.

⁶ For this translation of the technical term *daṇḍanīti* see Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, Part I, p. 5.

⁷ This and the following five verses have been translated by Kielhorn, *op. cit.*, p. 204, and vv. 20-23 also by Monmohan Chakravarti, *J. A. S. B.*, N. S., Vol. VIII (1912), p. 337.

the non-dual aspect of Brahman, a creator of their wonder by (the display of) his proficient knowledge and a prophet who has ocular realisation of the deep significance of the words of Bhaṭṭa.¹ He is a very sage Agastya to the sea of the Bauddhas, and clever in the refutation of the judgment of heretic dialecticians, he plays the part of the omniscient (being)², on earth.

(Verse 21). As one who knew the end of the ocean of *Siddhānta*³, *Tantra* and *Gaṇita*,⁴ and created the wonder of all in the subject of Astrology (*Phalasaṃhitā*), and as one who was the author and promulgator of a new treatise on Horoscopy (*Horāśāstra*) he evidently appeared as another Varāha⁵.

(Verse 22). He cast into shade the old codes (current) in the different branches of Dharmaśāstra by composing appropriate and fine treatises of his own; and having elucidated the verses of sages relating to Dharma by his excellent gloss he removed (all) doubts in regard to the rites enjoined in the Smṛitis.

(Verse 23). Following the Text propounded by Bhaṭṭa he composed that famous guide-book to Mīmāṃsā (philosophy) in which there are a thousand arguments like the rays of the sun that do not tolerate darkness.⁶ (But) what is the need of expatiation? He is indeed second to none, having proficiency in the whole range (lit. upto the furthest end) of Vedic hymns, in all the arts of poesy, in the *Āgamas*⁷, in the various literature connected with the *Arthaśāstra*,⁸ in Medical science, the science dealing with the use of arms and other subjects.

(Verse 24). Who indeed does not honour his name 'Bālavālabhībhujaṅga'? It is heard, recited and chanted with delight even by (the followers of the) Mīmāṃsā (school).

(Verse 25). Having restored by his magic syllables⁹ like the morning notes of music, the whole world to life (the world) that was (thrown into) a night of un-

¹ I. E. Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, author of the Vārttikas (*Tantra*, *Mīmāṃsā* etc.)

² I. E. Brahṇā.

³ Through oversight, Kielhorn has *Sanhitā* for *Siddhānta* in his translation of this verse and adds also a footnote on *Sanhitā* by way of explanation.

⁴ *Tantra* treats of 'the motions of heavenly bodies'. (Kielhorn, *op. cit.*, p. 204, n. 2 where he refers to Thibaut's *Astronomy*, p. 64). According to *Bṛihatsaṃhitā*, *Tantra* and *Gaṇita* are the same, *grahāṇām ādityādīnām yī gātrāṇāṃ prajāṇāṃ saṃkharāṇāṃ sūrya jñāyate tad=gaṇitam tasya cha tantra=iti saṃjñā*—

(Bhaṭṭotpala's comments on I. 9) In this record however, the two words seem to have different connotation. *Siddhānta* means the five *siddhāntas*, viz., Pāliśa, Romaka, Vasishtha, Sūrya and Brahma (*Bṛihatsaṃhitā*, Viz. Sans. Series, Part I, p. 22.) *Phalasaṃhitā* corresponds to *sanhitā* of *Bṛihatsaṃhitā*, which Bhaṭṭotpala explains as *Phalagrantha* (Ibid., p. 22.)

⁵ I. E. Varāhamihira, author of the *Bṛihatsaṃhitā*.

⁶ The word *tanāṃsi* may also mean here, in the case of the treatise on *Mīmāṃsā*, 'sophistic arguments'.

⁷ 'Traditional lore'—Kielhorn. It may technically mean the *Tantras*.

⁸ I. E. the treatises of Kautilya and others, not 'works on worldly affairs' as Kielhorn takes it.

⁹ This certainly refers to his own writings.

consciousness (caused) by the bites of venomous and fanged serpents,¹ he (has proved himself to be) a new vanquisher of death, the (god) Nīlakaṇṭha in (his) poison-carnivals.²

(Verse 26). In Rādhā, in the waterless³ boundary-lands abutting on a village situated in an arid region, has been made (i. e. excavated) by him a reservoir of water (or tank) which gladdens the soul and mind of the company of tourists sunk in fatigue, and whose beds of lotuses have become devoid of bees as they are fascinated by the reflections on its surface of the lotus-faces of beautiful damsels engaged in bath.

(Verse 27). By him is installed this god Nārāyaṇa of lithic form, like a causeway erected on earth for crossing successfully the ocean of re-birth. (The god) is like the blue mark⁴ on the moon-like face of the eastern horizon, the lotus-ear-ornament sportively worn by the Earth and the heavenly (Pārijāta) tree of (this) terrestrial world fructifying (all human) desires.

(Verse 28). By him is built this edifice whose beauty is enhanced by (its) rivalry with the mountain of the destroyer of Tripura (i. e. Śiva), and which like Hari himself is endowed with Śrī and possessed of the Śrīvatsa mark and the emblem of the flashing discus.⁵ (This temple) having surpassed Vaijayanta (the abode of Indra) unfolds the charms of streamers in the sky; and beholding its beauty (even) Śiva does not evince any desire for Kailāsa⁶.

(Verse 29). There, in Viṣṇu's temple, in the respective sanctums (Garbhagrihas) he ardently placed images of the god in the form of Nārāyaṇa, Ananta and Nṛsiṃha like the (three) Vedas in the mouths of the Creator (i. e. Brahmā).

(Verse 30). To this (god) Harimedhas (i. e. Viṣṇu) he gave a hundred (damsels)⁷ having eyes like those of young deer, who created the delusion that they were celestial nymphs taking rest on earth. They restored to life as it were

¹ It probably refers to the authors whose views he refuted.

² That is to say just as Śiva drank poison, but it had no effect upon him so also Bhavadeva read and digested the whole lot of sophistic and therefore poisonous, literature current in his time but was not affected by it in any way.

³ For *jaṅgulapatha* see Roth and Bothlink, *Sanskrit-wörterbuch*, s. v.

⁴ The blue colour of Nārāyaṇa is proverbial.

⁵ These probably refer to the emblems surmounting the *śikhara* of the temple. Cf. *sach chakra-saṅgatiṃ* as applying, to a temple of Bhuvanēśvar- *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 155 and n. 1. There is an evident pun on the word *Śrī* meaning 'beauty' as well as 'Lakṣmī'.

⁶ It is rather tempting to suggest that the poet here is reminded of the existence of Tribhuvaneśvara (Līṅgarāja) close to Anantavāsudeva. According to a Vaiṣṇavite tradition Śiva asked the permission of Vāsudeva to stay in Ekāmrakṣetra and (i. e., Bhuvanēśvar) the latter granted it. See R. L. Mitra, *Ant. Or.*, Vol. II, pp. 63-4.

⁷ These are the dancing girls (*devadāsīs*) of the temple.

by (a mere) glance the god of love burnt by the Terrible-eyed one (*i. e.* Śiva); and were the prison houses of the passionate and the meeting-hall of Music, Dalliance and Beauty.


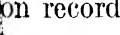
(Verse 31). He excavated in front of the temple a tank, which was truly the unique emporium of the world for the purchase of merit, and of which, the water was shady and as transparent as emerald. It shone, displaying in the midst of water that wonderful temple of Viṣṇu almost exactly as it is, which on account of false imagery, caused the anxiety of the brood of serpents.

(Verse 32). He laid out an excellent garden along the boundary of the temple. It was the essence of this world, the receptacle into which had been distilled the delight of the eyes of all men, and the resting place of the god of love exhausted in the conquest of the three worlds, and was famous as the place that excited amorous feeling.

(Verse 33). This eulogy is composed by the poet Vāchaspati, the foremost of Brāhmaṇas and his (*i. e.* Bhavadeva's) own dear friend. May this golden zone remain upto the end of the Cycle on the loins of his Fame embodied in the sacred temple.

(Line 25). This eulogy is of Bhaṭṭa-
Bāvalabhībhujaṅga.

V. DEOPĀRĀ INSCRIPTION OF VIJAYASENA.

This inscription, which is incised on a stone slab, was discovered by C. T. Metcalfe in 1865, near the village of Deopārā in Police station Godāgārī, in the Rājshāhī district of Bengal. Deopārā is situated at a distance of seven miles to the west of the Rājshāhī town and reached by a road leading to Godāgārī. The locality round about the findspot of the inscription was explored by a party organised by Kumar Sarat Kumar Ray of Dighapatiya in 1910. As a result, the explorers came upon an extensive tract of land covered by old tanks, stone relics and remains of ancient buildings. To the north of Deopārā, at some distance, is Chabbisnagar and to the south is the village of Vijaynagar through which passes the Rajshahi-Godāgārī road. In Dhoyī's *Pavanadūta* a place called Vijayapura is mentioned as the capital of the Sena kings. In the opinion of Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda, one of those who explored the site in 1910, this Vijayapura should be identified with the  the magnificent temple of Pradyumneśvara.  on records, stood at Deopārā, on the bank of an enormous tank, now known as 'Padumshar'. Here vandalism has left nothing but a few architectural fragments to keep ^{alive} its memory. The tank, which is also referred to in the inscription, was partially re-excavated by the Varendra Research Society in 1919, and it resulted in the discovery of as many as 129 pieces of stone relics which have now found a shelter in the Society's Museum at Rājshāhī.²

The inscription was first published by Metcalfe in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XXXIV, part I, pp. 128-54, and afterwards critically edited by Prof. Kielhorn in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, pp. 305-15 and facsimile. A fresh edition is now attempted from a set of inked estampages taken from the original stone deposited in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

The inscription consists of 32 lines of uniform length. The stone on which it is engraved measures 3'2" by 1'9 $\frac{3}{4}$ " while the inscribed surface measures 2'7 $\frac{3}{4}$ " by 1'5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". The engraver has done his work most beautifully and with great care. The inscription is in an excellent state of preservation. Where there is a blank space left after the last letter in a line a vertical stroke has been put in (e. g. in line 2 after the last letter *ra*). The size of the letters is about $\frac{3}{8}$ ".

¹ *Gaudarājamālā* (Rājshāhī, 1319 B. S.), p. 75. See also *J.R.A.S.*, 1914, pp. 101, 105.

² *Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv., Eastern Circle*, 1918-19, p. 7 and 1920-21, p. 34.

✓ The **characters** belong to a variety of the Northern alphabets which may be called the precursors of the modern Bengali as current in North-eastern India in the 11th century A. D. Prof. Kielhorn has already shown how certain letters e. g. initial *i* and *e* and the consonants *kh*, *j*, *t*, *n*, *t*, *ph*, *bh*, *r* and *l*, and the conjuncts *ksh*, *jñ* and *hm* differ from their contemporary Nāgarī forms prevalent in other parts of Northern India. Further, Mr. R. D. Banerji,¹ who has dwelt upon the alphabet of the present document at length, has clearly shown, that in about twenty-two letters the development of the Bengali forms is more or less complete. ✓

The **language** is Sanskrit. With the exception of *om om namaḥ Śivāya* at the beginning the whole inscription is in verse. The number of verses is thirty-six which are composed in a variety of metres viz. Vasantatilaka, Śārdūlavikṛīḍita, Sragdharā, Prithvī, Mandākrāntā, Mālinī, Śikharinī, Indravajrā and Upajāti.—In respect of **orthography** the following points should be noted : a letter following a superscript *r* is doubled in the majority of cases ; a letter preceding a subscript *r* is optionally doubled (*chhattram*, l. 3 ; *dharitrī*, l. 29) ; and the same sign is employed to denote *b* and *v*. The *avagraha* is used in four cases out of thirteen. The errors of the scribe are very few ; attention may be drawn here only to *Dharmmo* for *Dharmma* in line 32.

✓ The inscription refers itself to the reign of king **Vijayasena** of the Sena dynasty. The only other known record of this king is the Barrackpore copper-plate of the year 62. The inscription opens with obeisance to god Śiva followed by an invocation to Śaṃblu (i. e. Śiva) and the temple of Pradyumneśvara who is described as a combination of Hari and Hara (vv. 1-2). Next is introduced the Moon god in whose lineage were born **Virasena** and other kings of Dākṣiṇētya (vv 3-4). We are then told that **Sāmantasena** who was 'the head-garland of the **Brahmakshatriyas**' flourished in that family (v. 5), and inflicted a crushing defeat on the despoilers of the Fortune of **Karṇṇāṭa** assailed by enemies on all sides (v. 8). In his later years he took to religious life and lived in hermitages on the banks of the Ganges (v. 9). From him was born **Hemantasena** whose queen **Yaśodevī** (v. 14) bore a son **Vijayasena** by name (v. 15). Vijayasena defeated **Nānya**, **Vīra** and the kings of **Gauḍa**, **Kāmarūpa** and **Kaliṅga** (v. 20) ; and imprisoned **Nānya**, **Rāghava**, **Vardhana** and **Vīra** (v. 21). He also led a naval expedition along the course of the Ganges in order to conquer the kings of the west

¹ *Origin of the Bengali Script*, pp. 81-84.

(*pāschātya-chakra*) (v. 22). Vijayasena built a temple of **Pradyumneśvara** of great height and grandeur (vv. 26-28) and excavated in the vicinity of it a tank (v. 29). The inscription now proceeds to give a description of the image set up within the temple (vv. 30-31) and finally introduces the composer of the *praśasti*, the poet **Umāpatidhara** (v. 35), and the artist who engraved it. **Rāṇaka Śūlapāṇi**—‘the crest-jewel of the guild of artizans of **Varendrī**,’ son of **Brīhaspati**, grandson of **Manadāsa** and great-grandson of **Dharmma** (v. 36).

The question of the **caste** of the Senas is interesting. In verse 4 of the **Mādhāinagar** grant **Sāmantasena** is described as *Karṇṇāṭa-kshatriyāṇām kulaśirodāma*. In verse 5 of the present record he is called *Brahma-kshatriya-kulaśirodāma*, which epithet could not be correctly interpreted by Professor Kielhorn. He translated it as : ‘the head-garland of the clans of **Brahmaṇas** and **Kshatriyas**.’ The correct interpretation of this expression was first suggested by Professor D. R. Bhandarkar¹ whose translation ‘the head-garland of the **Brahmakshatrī** caste’ was accepted by Vincent A. Smith.² It thus appears that the Senas belonged to the **Brahmakshatrī** caste,³ a fact which is of considerable significance. That they were originally connected with the **Karṇṇāṭa** country follows not only from their being called **Karṇṇāṭa-kshatriyas** in the **Mādhāinagar** grant but also from the fact recorded in the present epigraph that **Sāmantasena** waged war with the enemies of **Karṇṇāṭa**.⁴

The title *mahārājñī* (‘great queen’) assumed by **Hemantasena**’s wife indicates that probably it was he who established **Sena** supremacy in **Bengal** and this view is strengthened by the fact that in the **Barrackpore** grant of **Vijayasena** the title *Mahārājādhirāja* is given first to **Hemantasena**.

Of the princes defeated by **Vijayasena**, **Nānya** has been identified by Professor Kielhorn with **Nānyadeva**, the founder of the **Karṇṇāṭakā** dynasty of **Nepal**. He began to reign at **Simraon** in **Tirhut** and later on annexed **Nepal**.⁵ His date **Śaka** 1021 i. e. 1097 A. D. occurs in a Ms. in the library of the **German Oriental Society** at **Berlin** and this is supported by a tradition current

¹ *J. A. S. B.* 1909, pp. 167-87. Cf. also M. Chakravarti, *J. A. S. B.*, 1905, p. 50. A writer already made the above suggestion in a Bengali article in 1899.—*Āitihasik Chitra*, Vol. I, part III, pp. 427-28.

² *Early History of India*, 3rd. Ed., pp. 419-20.

³ See Bhandarkar’s remarks, *Ind. Ant.*, 1911, p. 35. He shows that no less than five royal families were designated **Brahma-kshatrī**. The term was applied to ‘those who were **Brahmanas** first and became **Kshatriyas** afterwards’ i. e., ‘those who exchanged their priestly for martial pursuits.’

⁴ Dr. R. C. Majumdar thinks that the Senas originally belonged to the **Dharwar** district (**Bombay** Presidency) which formed a part of the **Karṇṇāṭa** country.—*Proceedings of the Second Oriental Conference* (Calcutta 1923), pp. 343 ff.

⁵ *J. A. S. B.*, 1915, p. 411.

in Tīrhut.¹ An inscription belonging to his reign has been recently discovered at Andhara-Thārī in the Darbhanga district.² As regards Rāghava, Vincent Smith³ considers that he was a ruler of Kalinga and flourished *circa* 1156 A. D. Vīra and Vardhana have been identified by some respectively with Vīraguṇa of Koṭāṭavī and Vardhana of Kauśāmbī, who appear in the *Rāmcharita* as contemporaries of Rāmapāla.⁴

The poet Umāpatidara⁵ describes himself as *padā-padārtha-cichāra-suddha-buddhi*, i.e. 'one whose knowledge is made accurate by the study of words and their meanings'. According to Pischel this is supported by Jayadeva's remark in verse 4 of *Gītagovinda* (*vā-baḥ padārṇavā Umāpatidaraḥ*) i. e. 'Umāpati makes his words sprout.' After a careful analysis of the inscription Pischel concludes that Umāpati's perfect mastery in the handling of words is manifest even in this short composition of 36 verses.⁶ In Merutuṅga's *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*⁷ he appears as the minister of Lakshmapasena, 'king of Gauda' and several stanzas composed by him are quoted. Besides these, he is known also from a number of anthological works, for instance, the *Sāṅgikarṇā-mṛita*, *Subhāshita-muktāvalī* and the *Sārṅgadharapaddhati* which ascribe the authorship of about one hundred verses to him. Monmohan Chakravarti⁸ has pointed out that of the verses quoted in the *Sāṅgikarṇā-mṛita* four are taken from the Deopārā inscription (viz. verses 7, 23, 24 and 30), and as I have shown below, one of the verses attributed to Umāpati in this anthology occurs also in the Mādhānagar copper-plate.

The engraver Śūlapāṇi is described as the 'crestjewel' of *Vārendra-śilpi-goshṭhī* which has been translated as 'the guild of Vārendra artists'. It is not sure whether by this expression we are to understand that there was a regular guild or association of artists in Vārendra or North Bengal. A passage in Tāranātha's *History of Buddhism in India* as translated by W. L. Heeley (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV, p. 102) from Schiefner's German translation of the Tibetan Text contains a reference to the existence of the 'Eastern School of Art' 'headed by Bitpālo, son of Dhūmān, who flourished in Vārendra country during the reign of Devapāla and Dharmapāla (Smith, *History of*

¹ Pischel, *Kat. d. Bibl. d. D. M. G.*, Vol. II (Leipzig 1881), p. 8; *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. IX, pt. III and IV, p. 34. Cf. *J. A. S. B.*, 1915, p. 409.

² *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. IX, pt. III and IV p. 302.

³ *Early History of India*, 3rd. Ed., p. 419.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, 1920, pp. 174-75.

⁵ See references cited by Kielhorn. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 305-6 and p. 306, n. 3 and especially Pischel's monograph 'Die Hofdichter des Lakshmapasena' (Abhand. d. Kön. Ges. d. Wiss.), Göttingen 1893.

⁶ Pischel, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-17.

⁷ Tawney's translation, Intro., p. XVIII, and p. 181, n. 4; also Pischel, *op. cit.*

⁸ 'Sanskrit Literature in Bengal during Sena rule'—*J. A. S. B.*, 1906, p. 160.

Fine Art, p. 305). Another account of these two artists which very much corresponds to that given by Tāranātha is found in the *Pag-sam-zon-jang*.¹ Neither of these two accounts mentions, however, that the school to which Bitpālo belonged was called 'the Vārendra School'.² And what is more interesting to observe is that the *Pag-sam* substitutes 'Nalendra' for Tāranātha's 'Varendra'. Thus no definite evidence is yet forthcoming which justifies us to take the expression *Vārendraka-sūlpigoshthi* in the restricted sense of a 'guild', properly so called, of the artists of Varendra. The word *goshthi* I have taken here in a general sense, meaning 'multitude', although it is not impossible that the word really denotes a 'guild.'

TEXT.

1 ॐ³ ॐ नमः शिवाय ॥

⁴वचोशुकाहरणसाधसकृष्टमौलिमाल्यच्छटाहतरतालयदीपभासः ।

देव्यास्त्रपामुकुलितं सुखमिन्द्राभिर्व्विद्याननानि हसितानि जयन्ति शम्भोः ॥ [1*]

⁵लक्ष्मीवल्लभ-

2 शैलजादयितयोरद्वैतलोलागृहं प्रद्युम्नेश्वरशब्दलाञ्छनमधिष्ठानं नमस्कर्महे । यत्रा-
लिङ्गनभङ्गकातरत[या] स्थित्वान्तरे कान्तयोर्द्वौभ्यां कथमप्यभिन्नतनुताशिल्पेऽन्तरायः
कृतः ॥ [2*] ⁶यत्सिंहासनमोश्वर-

3 स्य कनकप्रायं जटामण्डलं गङ्गाशीकरमञ्जरीपरिकरै र्यञ्चामरप्रक्रिया । श्वेतोत्फुल्लफणाञ्चलः
शिवशिरःसन्दानदामोरगच्छत्तं यस्य जयत्यमावचरमो राजा सुधादोधितिः ॥ [3*] ⁷वंश
तस्यामरस्त्रीवि-

4 ततरतकलासाक्षिणो दाक्षि णाल्य-क्षौणीन्द्रे व्वीरसेन-प्रभृतिभिरभितः कीर्त्तिमङ्गि-
ब्बभूवे । यच्चारितानुचिन्तापरिचयशुचयः सूक्तिमाध्वीकधाराः पाराशर्य्येण विश्वश्रवण-
परिसरप्रोणनाय प्रणीताः ॥ [4*] ⁸तस्मिन् से-

5 नान्ववाये प्रतिमुष्टशतोत्सादनब्रह्मवादी स ब्रह्मक्षवियोगामजनि कुलशिरोदाम
सामन्तसेनः । उन्नयन्ते यदीयाः खलदुदधिजलोल्लोलशीतेषु सेतोः कच्छान्तेष्वप-
सरोभिर्दृशयतनयस्पर्द्धया युद्धगाथाः ॥ [5*]

¹ I am indebted to Mr. J. van Manen for a literal translation of the two passages in question from block prints of the original Tibetan.

² Evidently depending on Tāranātha's statement Mr. A. K. Maitra says that Dhīmān and his son Bitpālo reflected great creative genius in 'the art of Gaudy' (Introduction to *Gaudarājamālā*, p. vi). There is nothing in support of this assertion. See Kumar, 'A Note on the Bengal School of Artists,' *J. A. S. B.*, 1916, pp. 26-27.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ Metre : Vasantatilaka.

⁵ Metre : Śārdūlavikriḍita.

⁶ Metre : Śārdūlavikriḍita.

⁷ Metre : Sragdharā.

⁸ Metre : Sragdharā.

- 6 ¹यस्मिन् सङ्गरचत्वरे पटुरटत्तूर्योपहतद्विषदग्ने येन कृपाणकालभुजगः खेलायितः
पाणिना । द्वैधीभूतविपक्षकुञ्जरघटाविश्लिष्टकुम्भस्थलोमुक्तासूखवराटिकापरिकरैर्व्वर्गमं
तदद्याप्यभूत् ॥ [6*]
- 7 ²गृहादगृहमुपागतं व्रजति पत्तनं पत्तनादनादनमनुदत्तं भ्रमति पादपं पादपात् ।
गिरेर्गिरिमधिश्रितन्तरति तोयधित्तोयधेयंदीयमरिसुन्दरीसरकष्टलम्नं यशः ॥
[7*] ³दुर्व्वृत्तानामयमरि-
- 8 कुलाकीर्षं कर्माटलक्ष्मीलुण्टाकानां कदनमतनोत्ताट्टगेकाङ्गवोरः । यस्मादद्याप्यविहतव-
सामान्समेदःसुभिन्ना⁴ हृथत्पौरस्थजति न दिशं दक्षिणां प्रे[त]भर्त्ता ॥ [8*]
⁵उदगन्धीन्याज्वधूमैर्भृगुशिशुरमिता स्निग्ध-
- 9 वैखानसस्त्री-स्तन्यक्षोराणि कीरपकरपरिचितब्रह्मपारायणानि । येनासेव्यन्त श्रेष्ठि-
भवभयास्कन्दिभिर्मस्कारोद्वैः पूर्णात्सङ्गानि गङ्गापुलिनपरिसरारण्यपुण्याश्रमाणि ॥ [9*]
⁶अचरमपरमात्मज्ञानभी-
- 10 षादमुष्मात्रिजभुजमदमत्तारातिमाराङ्गवोरः । अभवदनवनानाङ्गिनिर्षिक्ततत्तदगुण-
निवहमहिम्नां वैश्व हेमन्तसेनः ॥ [10*] ⁷मूर्धन्यर्द्धेन्दुचूडामणिचरणरजः सत्य-
वाक्कण्ठभित्तौ शास्त्रं श्रोत्रे-
- 11 केशाः पदभुवि भुजयोः क्रूरमौर्व्वीकिणाङ्गः । नेपथ्यं यस्य जज्ञे सततमियदिदं रत्नपुष्पाणि
हारास्ताडङ्गं नूपुरस्रक्कनकवल्लयमप्यस्य भृत्याङ्गनानाम् ॥ [11*] ⁸यहोर्व्वल्लिविलास-
लब्धगतिभिः शल्यैर्व्विदीर्घारसां
- 12 वीराणां रणती[र्य]वैभववशाद्विष्यं वपुर्व्विभ्रताम् । संसक्तामरकामिनीस्तनतटी-
काश्मीरपक्षाङ्कितं वक्षः प्रागिव सुगन्धसिद्धमिधुनैः सातङ्गमालोक्तम् ॥ [12*] ⁹प्रत्यर्थि-
व्ययकेलिकर्मणि पुरः स्मेरं मुखं विभ्रतो रे-
- 13 तस्यैतदसेष कौशलमभूहाने द्वयोरदभुतम् । शत्रोः कोपि दधेऽवसादमपरः सख्युः प्रसादं
व्यधादेको हारमुपाजहार सुहृदामन्यः प्रहारं द्विषाम् ॥ [13*] ¹⁰महाराज्ञी यस्य स्वपर-
निखिलान्तःपुरवधू-
- 14 शिरोरत्नश्रेणीकिरणसरणिस्मेरचरणा । निधिः कान्ते[ः] साध्वीव्रतविततनित्योज्ज्वलयशा
यशोदेवौ नाम त्रिभुवनमनोज्ञाकृतिरभूत् ॥ [14*] ¹¹ततस्त्रिजगदौश्वरात् समजनेष्ट¹²
देव्यास्ततोप्यरातिवल्लभातनोज्ज्व-

¹ Metre: Sārdūlavikrīḍita.⁴ Read māṃsa-⁷ Metre: Śraḡgaharā.¹⁰ Metre: Śikharipi.² Metre: Prithvī.⁵ Metre: Śraḡgaharā.⁸ Metre: Sārdūlavikrīḍita.¹¹ Metre: Prithvī.³ Metre: Mandākrāntā.⁶ Metre: Mālīnī⁹ Metre: Sārdūlavikrīḍita.¹² Read samajanishṭa.

- 15 लकुमारकेलिक्रमः । चतुर्जलधिमैखलावलयसोमविश्वभरा-विशिष्टजयसान्वयो विजयसेन
पृथ्वीपतिः ॥ [15*]¹गणयतु गणशः को भूपतींस्ताननेन प्रतिदिनरणभाजा ये जिता
वा हता वा । इह जगति विधे-
- 16 हे स्वस्य वंशस्य पूर्व्यः पुरुष इति सुधांशौ केवलं राजशब्दः ॥ [17*]²संख्यातीतकपीन्द्र-
सैन्यविभुना तस्यारिजितुस्तुलां किं रामेण वदाम पाण्डवचमूनाथेन पार्थेन वा । हेतोः
खड्गलतावतंसितभुजामात(त्र)स्य येनार्जितं सप्ता-
- 17 श्लोदितटीपिनद्धवसुधाचक्रैकराज्यं फलम् ॥ [17*]³एकैकेन गुणेन यैः परिणतं तेषां
विवेकादृते कश्चिद्व्यपश्य रक्षति सृजत्यन्यस्य कृत्स्नं जगत् । देवोयं तु गुणैः कृतो
बहुतिथैर्बर्मान् जघान⁴ द्विषो वृत्तस्थानपुष्पचकार च
- 18 रिपूच्छेदेन दिव्याः प्रजाः ॥ [18*]⁵दत्त्वा दिव्यभुवः प्रतिक्षितिभृतामुर्वीसुरीकुर्वता
वीरासृग्लिपिलाञ्छितोऽसिरमुना प्रागेव पक्षीकृतः । नेत्यं चेत् कथमन्यथा वसुमतौ
भोगे विवादीन्मुखी तत्राकृष्टकृपाणधारिणि गता भ-
- 19 ह्रं द्विषां सन्ततिः ॥ [19*]⁶त्वं नान्य-वीर-विजयीति गिरः कवीनां श्रुत्वाऽन्यथा-
मननरूढनिगूढरोषः । गौडेन्द्रमद्रवदपाकृत कामरूपभूषं कलिङ्गमपि यस्तरसा
जिगाय ॥ [20*]⁷शूरमन्य इवासि नान्य किमिह खं राघव स्नाघसे स-
- 20 ह्रं वर्द्धन मुञ्च वीर विरतो नाद्यापि दर्पस्तव । इत्यन्योन्यमहर्निशप्रणयिभिः
कोलाहलैः क्षामुजां यत्कारागृह्यामिकैर्नियमितो निद्रापनोदक्रमः ॥ [21*]⁸पाश्चात्य-
चक्रजयकेलिषु यस्य यावद्गङ्गाप्रवाहमनुधावति
- 21 नौ-विताने । भर्गस्य मौलिसरिदम्भसि भस्मपङ्कलज्जोत्कृतिव तरिरिन्दुकला चकास्ति ॥
[22*]⁹मुक्ताः कर्पासवीजैर्मरकतशकलं शाकपत्रैरलावूपुष्पै रूपाणि रत्नं परिणतिभिदुरै
कुक्षिभिर्हाडिमानाम् । कुष्माण्डीवल्लरीण¹⁰ वि-
- 22 कसितकुसुमैः काञ्चनं नागरोभिः शिष्यन्ते यत्प्रसादाद्बहुविभवजुषां योषितः श्रोत्रिया-
णाम् ॥ [23*]¹¹अश्रान्तविश्राणितयज्ञयूपस्तम्भावलीं द्रागवलम्बमानः । यस्यानुभावाद्-
भुवि सञ्चचार कालक्रमादेकपदोपि धर्मः ॥ [24*]¹²मेरोरा-
- 23 हतवैरिसङ्कलतटादाह्वय यज्वामरान् व्यत्यासं पुरवासिनामकृत यः स्वर्गस्य मर्त्यस्य
च । उत्तुङ्गैः सुरसद्यभिश्च विततैस्तुङ्गैश्च शेषीकृतं चक्रे येन परस्परस्य च स्वर्गं यावा-
पृथिव्योर्व्वेषुः ॥ [25*]¹³दिक् शाखामूलकाण्डं गगनतलम-

¹ Metre : Mālinī.⁴ Read *dhīmān=jaghāna*⁷ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.¹⁰ Read *-nām*.² Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁵ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁸ Metre : Vasantatilaka.¹¹ Metre : Indravajrā.³ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁶ Metre : Vasantatilaka.⁹ Metre : Śragdharā.¹² Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.¹³ Metre : Śragdharā. In this verse Kielhorn takes *dik-sākhāmūlakāṇḍam* as one compound and so also *gaganatalamahāmbhodbodhīmādhyanāriyam*. The above arrangement gives however a better sense. Cf. my translation below.

- 24 हाम्भोधि मध्यान्तरीयं भानोः प्राक्प्रत्यगदिस्थितिमिलदुदयास्तस्य मध्याह्नशैलम् । चालम्ब-
स्तम्भमेकं त्रिभुवनभवनस्यैकशेषं गिरीणां स प्रद्युम्नेश्वरस्य व्यधित वसुमतीवासवः
सौधमुच्चैः ॥ [26*]¹ प्रासादेन तवासुनेव हरितामध्वा
- 25 निरुद्धो मुधा भानोद्यापि कृतोस्ति दक्षिणदिशः कोणान्तवासी मुनिः । अन्यामुच्छपथोय-
मृच्छतु दिशं विन्ध्योप्यसौ वदन्तां यावच्छक्तिं तथापि नास्य पदवीं सौधस्य गाह्यते ॥
[27*]² स्रष्टा यदि स्रज्यति भूमिचक्रे सुमेरुमृत्पिण्डविवर्त्तनाभिः ।
- 26 तदा घटः स्यादुपमानमस्मिन् सुवर्षं कुम्भस्य तदप्यितस्य ॥ [28*]³ विलेशयविलासिनी-
मुकुटकोटिरत्नाङ्कुर-स्फुरत्किरणमञ्जरीच्छुरितवारिपूरं पुरः । चखान पुरवेरिणः स
जलमग्न-
- 27 पौराङ्गना-स्तनेणमदसोरभोजलितचञ्चरीकं सरः ॥ [29*]⁴ उच्चित्राणि दिगम्बरस्य
वसनान्यर्द्धाङ्गनास्वामिनो रत्नालंकृतिभिर्विशेषितवपुः शोभाः शतं सुभ्रुवः । पौराङ्गाश्च
पुरीः श्मशानवसते भिक्षाभु-
- 28 जोस्याक्षर्या लक्ष्मीं स व्यतनोद्हरिद्रभरणे सुप्तो हि सेनान्वयः ॥ [30*]⁵ चित्रक्षौमेभचर्मा
हृदयविनिहितस्थूलहारोरगेन्द्रः श्रीखण्डक्षोदभस्मा करमिलितमहानीलरत्नाक्षमालः ।
वेषस्तेनास्य तेने गरुडमणिलतागोन-
- 29 सः कान्तमुक्ता-नेपथ्यनस्थिरिच्छासमुचितरचनः कल्पकापालिकस्य ॥ [31*]⁶ बाह्वोः
केलिभिरद्वितीयकनकच्छत्रं धरित्रीतलं कुर्व्याणेन न पर्यशेषि किमपि स्वेनेव तेनेहितम् ।
किन्तस्मै दिशतु प्रसन्नवरदोष्यर्द्धेन्दुमौलिः
- 30 परं स्वं सायुज्यमसावपश्चिमदशाशेषे पुनर्हास्यति ॥ [32*]⁷ प्रस्तोतुमस्य परितश्चरितं
क्षमः स्यात् प्राचेतसो यदि पराशरनन्दनो वा तत्कीर्त्तिपूरसुरसिन्धुविगाहनेन वाचः
पवित्रयितुमत्र तु नः प्रयत्नः ॥ [33*]⁸ यावहास्तोस्यति-
- 31 पुरधुनी भूर्भुवः स्वः पुनीते यावच्चान्द्री कलयति कलोत्तसतां भूतभर्तुः । यावच्चेतो
गमयति सतां श्वेतिमानं त्रिवेदी तावत्तासां रचयतु सखी तत्तदेवास्य कीर्त्तिः ॥ [34*]
⁹ निर्वृत्तसेनकुलभूपति-मोक्तिकानामग्रव्यलय-¹⁰
- 32 यनपञ्चलसूत्रवक्त्रिः । एषा कवेः पदपदार्थविचारशब्दबुद्धेर्मापतिधरस्य कृतिः
प्रशस्तिः ॥ [35*]¹¹ धर्म्मोप्रणप्ता¹² मनदास-नप्ता बृहस्पतेः सगुरिमां प्रशस्तिं ।
चखान वारेन्द्रक-शिल्पिगोष्ठीचूडामणी राणकशूलपाणिः ॥ [36]

¹ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.² Metre : Upajāti.³ Metre : Prithvī.⁴ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁵ Metre : Sragdharā.⁶ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁷ Metre : Vasantatilaka.⁸ Metre : Mandākrāntā.⁹ Metre : Vasantatilaka.¹⁰ Read *mauktikānān*.¹¹ Metre : Upajāti.¹² Read *Dharmma* — Kielhorn remarksthat at first *Dharmma* was engraved, but it was later on changed into *Dharmma*. The reading *Dharmma* which is wrong for *Dharmma* is however clear and in the original there are no traces of any alteration.

TRANSLATION.

Om ! Om ! Adoration to Śiva !

(Verse 1). May the (*five*) faces of Śambhu triumph—faces that smile looking at the (*lotus like*)¹ countenance of the Goddess in moonbeams, contracting like a bud in bashfulness, (*when*) through fright at the removal of her breast-cloth she pulls down the wreath from her head and with its brilliance casts into gloom the light of her “pleasure-chamber”.²

(Verse 2). We bow down to the temple called by the name **Pradyumneśvara**, that abode of the playful union⁴ of the beloved of Lakshmī and the husband of Mountain’s daughter,⁵ where, because of the apprehension of the cessation of embrace the two goddesses have taken stand between their lovers and thus somehow interfered with the complete union of bodies, (*at least*) in its representation in art.⁶

(Verse 3). May that primeval king triumph—the nectar-rayed one (Moon) who is enthroned within the golden circle of the matted hair of Īśvara ; to whom fly-whisk is swung by the multitude of spray-clusters of the waves of the Ganges ; and whose umbrella is the serpent, encircling Śiva’s head, having the white and expanded hoods as the borders of its canopy.

(Verse 4). In the line of that Witness of the continuous amorous wiles of the wives of the gods, there were born **Virasena** and others, who were kings of the Deccan, having all-pervading⁸ fame. The honey-stream of beautiful stanzas, which the son of Parāśara (*i.e.* Vyāsa) had caused to flow to please the ears of mankind, was made pure coming in contact with the memory of their achievements.

(Verse 5). In that **Sena** family was born that head-garland of the **Brahmakshatriya** (caste)⁹, **Sāmantasena** who was versed in the mystic

¹ The use of the significant word *mukulita* which is applicable to a flower and the proximity of the word *indubhābhik* suggest that the poet is here reminded of the lotus which closes in moon light.

² The verse means that Devī is covering her nudity with a wreath. The ‘pleasure-chamber’ (*ratālaya*) is, of course, *puṇḍrum muleibre* which according to the Tāntrikas is the seat of effulgence.

³ “We adore the (*deity*) designated Pradyumneśvara”—Kielhorn. But the reference is certainly to the temple of Pradyumneśvara (*adhishṭhāna*), a view that is supported by the use of the word *yatra*, ‘where.’

⁴ There is evidently a *ślesha* in *advaita-līlā-grīha*. If the word *advaita* qualifies *līlā* the meaning would be ‘the abode of mutual blending’ ; if however it qualifies *līlāgrīha* it would mean ‘the unique place of manifestation’ (cf. Hari and Hara).

⁵ I. E. Hari and Hara.

⁶ They could not arrest the real blending of the two deities in spirit. They could somehow do so only in its representation by the artist. This has reference probably to the original image in which Hari and Hara were attended with their wives. Cf. verses in the section *kāntāsahita-Harihara* in *Saduktikarṇāmrīta*, pp. 44-45.

⁷ The son of Nala, Virasena is probably meant.

⁸ ‘Famous on both (their parents’) sides’—Kielhorn. I take however *abhitaḥ* in the sense of ‘everywhere.’

⁹ See remarks above p. 44.

lore¹ of the extermination of all opposing soldiers, and whose war-ballads were sung, rivalling with (*those of*) the son of Daśaratha, by heavenly nymphs, along the borders of the Bridge² cooled by the dancing of the waters of the ocean.

(Verse 6). In the field (lit. courtyard) of battle when his enemies, invited by the shrill-sounding drums, used to appear, he would by his hand play with the sword resembling the serpent of death.³ That place is still strewn over with myriads of pearls (*which are like*) big cowries⁴ (*emanated*) from the cleft frontal globes of the scattered elephants of his opponents.

(Verse 7). His fame following (lit. which stuck to the back of) the caravan of the wives of his enemies (*who were humbled*) reached one house after another, travelled from town to town, ran from wood to wood, moved from tree to tree, ascended mountain after mountain and crossed sea after sea.⁵

(Verse 8). This hero who resembled Viṣṇu⁶ slaughtered to such an extent the wicked despoilers of the Lakṣmī (i.e. wealth) of Kārṇṇāṭa, assailed by bands of enemies, that the lord of goblins,⁷ whose citizens are delighted, does not even to this day leave the southern quarter⁸ where the excellent supply of marrow, flesh and fat remains yet undiminished.

(Verse 9). In his last days he frequented the sacred hermitages situated in forests on the banks of the Ganges, which were full of renowned ascetics fighting against the terrors of rebirth. These (hermitages) were fragrant with the smoke of sacrificial butter. Here the young deer rejoiced in the milk of the breasts of kind-hearted hermit-wives and the multitude of parrots were familiar with the entire text of the Vedas.⁹

(Verse 10). From him, who was a Bhīṣma¹⁰ in his unrivalled knowledge of the Supreme Soul, was born Hemantasena who played the role of the hero

¹ Kielhorn translates *Brahmarūḍī* as 'magician'. But the idea of a magician is not supported by any other expression used in the verse. The king appears in that role in the next. Here probably it is indicated that Sām-antasena was as much Brāhmaṇa as Kṣatriya, thus bringing out the etymological meaning of *Brahma-Kṣatriya* i.e. Brāhmaṇa as well as Kṣatriya.

² I. E. S. tab in Iḥa-Rām-śvara. ³ He plays the part of a snake-charmer.

⁴ What is really intended is that pearls were considered as insignificant and valueless as cowries.

⁵ Cf. *bhṛāṅgānti prapattantam pratigrahaṁ pratyagānam gad-guṇāḥ* Halāyudha, *Brāhmaṇasūtras*, Introductory verse, 18.

⁶ The expression *ekāṅga-vīra* could not be properly translated by Kielhorn. He took it as meaning 'This hero, singly' and said 'I am not sure that this is the exact meaning of the word *ekāṅga* of the original; but *ekāṅga-vīra* looks as if it were intentionally employed in opposition to *chaturāṅga-bala*' (*op. cit.*, p. 312, n. 51). But *Ekāṅga* is a name of Viṣṇu (see Monier-Williams, Sanskrit-English Dictionary, s. v.) and this meaning suits the context very well.

⁷ I. E. Yama.

⁸ Yama is the lord of the South (*Ep. Myth.*, p. 108). The poet explains why Yama remains confined for ever to that quarter.

⁹ Cf. *jaṇur = grihe = bhṛāṅga-samasta-rāṅgagāḥ sa-sūrikāḥ pañjaravartibhiḥ śukaiḥ*—*Kādambarī* (Peter-son's ed.), Intro. verse 12.

¹⁰ 'Who inspired awe by his unrivalled knowledge of the Supreme spirit.'—Kielhorn.

in the war with his adversaries proud in the strength of their own arms,¹ and was the abode as it were of the glories of unceasingly manifested and spotless virtues of every kind.

(Verse 11). On his head—the dust of the feet of the half-moon-crested (*god*),² in his throat—true speech, in his ear—the sacred texts, at his feet—the hairs of his enemies and on his arms—the marks of the scars made by the tough bowstring: always this much was his decoration. Flowers made of precious stones, necklaces, ear-rings, anklets, garlands and golden bracelets were worn only by the wives of his servants.

(Verse 12). When heroes, having their chests rent by the spears gaining momentum from the play of his long arms, assumed divine bodies³ through the merit accrued in a holy place like the field of battle,⁴ their breasts marked with the saffron lines on the breasts of heavenly damsels clinging to them, were viewed with fear, as before,⁵ by timid Siddha couples.

(Verse 13). By him who assumed smiling countenance in play-like expense in respect of suppliants⁶ and also his sword (which acted in the same manner in the play-like destruction of opponents), wonderful skill was exhibited in the bestowal of gifts. The one brought exhaustion to the enemies, the other favours to the allies; the one was the source of presents of necklaces to the allies, the other that of blows to the enemies.

(Verse 14). His 'Great Queen' was Yaśodevī by name. Her feet were made lustrous by the series of rays of the lines of jewels on the heads of the ladies of the inner apartments of (*both*) friends and enemies; she was a store-house of loveliness, and owing to devotion to her husband, acquired wide, eternal and bright fame. She gained the heart of the three worlds by her (*beautiful*) form.

(Verse 15). From that Lord of the three worlds and that queen was born the ruler of the earth, Vijayasena whose path of youthful sports was brightened by the destruction (lit. whetting) of the power of enemies. He became

¹ Kielhorn is doubtful about the meaning of the passage *nija-bhuja-mada-matt-ārāti-mārāṅka-vīrah* and translates *mārāṅka-vīrah* as 'a hero whose characteristic it was to destroy (?)'. Pischel shows that *mārāṅka* is used also in *Gītāgovinda*, XII, v. 4 where one scholiast has explained it as a kind of amorous fight. He thinks that *mārāṅka-vīrah* would here be an equivalent of *yuddhavīrah* (*Die Hofdichter des Lakṣmaṇasena*, p. 19). Cf. *ripa-chamū-mār-āṅka-malla-vrataḥ* used regarding the same person in the Mādhānagar grant, verse 5.

² I. E. Śiva.

³ Heroes killed in battle are believed to attain Heaven.

⁴ Kielhorn translates 'through the efficacy of battle, resembling a holy bathing place.'

⁵ Though the red paint took the place of blood the Siddhas thought that blood was still gushing out of the bodies of heroes, as in the battle field where they were slain.

⁶ In the original there is only *pratyarthi-vyaya-keli-karmmaṇi* which, as Kielhorn points out, has a double meaning. The word *pratyarthin* means 'suppliants' as well as 'opponents' and *vyaya* both 'expense' and 'destruction'. In this verse there is a pedantic play on the words *hāra* and *sāda* with the help of different prepositions.

worthy of his name because of his having 'completely conquered' the earth bounded by the circle of the zone of the four oceans.

(Verse 16). Who could count the hosts of kings that were either defeated or killed by him, everyday engaged in battle? In this world, he tolerated only the Moon to assume the title of 'king,' because the Moon was the first member of his own line.²

(Verse 17). How could we say that Rāma, the leader of the numberless soldiers of the monkey-king or Pārtha, the leader of the Pāṇḍava army, was comparable to that conqueror of enemies who, by his mere arm adorned with the sword, gained the fruit of Universal Sovereignty over the kingdom of the earth girt by the Seven Seas?

(Verse 18). Of those (*gods*)³ who have reached perfection individually in a particular quality, one destroys, another preserves and the third creates the whole world, indiscriminately; but this (king) was deified by reason of his having possessed many qualities.⁴ Endowed with a power of discrimination, he destroyed his enemies, preserved the virtuous and by the extirpation of his enemies created celestial beings.

(Verse 19). By him, who gave away land in Heaven to his rival princes and accepted (*from them*) the earth (*in return*), the sword-blade marked with writing in the blood of heroes was made to serve the purpose of a document as it were in anticipation; otherwise, how would Earth come to be enjoyed by him when there arose disputes regarding her, and on presenting his drawn sword (*from its sheath*) the host of his opponents would admit defeat.⁵

(Verse 20). "You are the conqueror of Nānya and Vīra,"—hearing these words of the poets he took them in a different sense⁶ and his secret rage was aroused, (*whereupon*) he quickly made the king of Gauḍa to flee, drove away⁷ the king of Kāmarūpa and defeated the king of Kalinga

(Verse 21). "Oh! Nānya! you seem to think that you are a hero!" "Oh! Rāghava! why do you boast of yourself here?" "Oh! Vardhana! give

¹ Here is a play on the root meaning of *viṣaya*.

² This verse is partially quoted in the Mādhānagar grant as was first pointed out by Prassanna Narayan Chaudhuri (*Āitihasik-Chitra*, Vol. I, pt. III, p. 424) and then by R. D. Banerji (*J. A. S. B.*, 1909, p. 469). Cf. *Āj.* = *eti-nāma kṣaṣalakṣmaṇi chakṣhame yaḥ*. —Khairha plates of Yaśaḥ-Karṇadeva, *Ep.*, *Indl.* Vol. XII, p. 211, v. 5.

³ Viz. Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara.

⁴ He possesses all the three qualities (viz. creation, preservation and destruction) and thus attains a position superior to that of any of the three gods. He has also proper discrimination which they lack. The word *dhīmān* is contrasted with *vivekāḍ=rite*.

⁵ By introducing the legal terms *patra* ('document' or 'deed') and *vivāda* ('suit', 'dispute') the poet suggests that the king was engaged as if in a land suit in which he came out victorious on the strength of the sword which served the purpose of the necessary document. Cf. *vivāde=uvishyate patram* etc.

⁶ Viz. *na-ānya-vīra-vijayī*, i. e., 'conqueror of not-other hero.'

⁷ Kielhorn translates 'put down'. For the meaning of *apa-kri* ('to drive away') see M. Williams, *s.v.*

up your spirit of emulation !” “Oh ! **Vīra** ! your arrogance is still unabated !”—this was the sort of noise that arose day and night, from amongst the princes (*imprisoned by him*) and it minimised the weary task of the watchmen of his prison-house of keeping off sleep.

(Verse 22). When his fleet in its play of conquest of the dominions in the west advanced along the course of the Ganges, his boat shone like the crescent-moon up on the water of the river on Siva's head, often stuck in the mud of ashes and often released.¹

(Verse 23). Through his grace the Brāhmanas versed in the Vedas have become the possessors of so much wealth that their wives have to be trained by the wives of the townspeople (*to recognise*) pearls, pieces of emerald, silver coins, jewels and gold from their similarity respectively with seeds of cotton, leaves of *śāka*, bottle-gourd flowers, the developed seeds of pomegranates and the blooming flowers of the creepers of pumpkin-gourd (*Beninkasa Cerifera*).

(Verse 24). He was never tired of offering sacrifices ; and through his power Dharma, though she had become one-legged in the course of time, could move about on the earth, quickly taking the help of the rows of sacrificial pillars.²

(Verse 25). That sacrificer calling down the immortals from the slopes of Meru full of the enemies killed by himself brought about an interchange of the inhabitantants of heaven and earth.³ (*For*) by (*the construction of*) lofty 'houses of gods' (i. e. temples) and by (*the excavation of*) extensive lakes the areas of both heaven and earth were reduced and thus they were made similar to one another.

(Verse 26). That Indra of the earth built a lofty edifice of **Pradyumnēśvara**, the wings, the plinth and the main structure of which occupied the several

¹ In interpreting this verse Kielhorn has mistaken the *upamāna* ('crescent moon') for the *upameya* ('boat'), and translated: 'The Moon's crescent shines (*on Siva's head*) as if it were a boat stuck fast in the mud formed by ashes in the water of the river on Bharga's crest and abandoned there' which cannot be accepted. The poet is here giving a description of the king's boat which he compares to the crescent moon on Siva's head: that the moon should be compared here to a boat is out of the question. One of the moon's epithets is *udupatī*, *udu* meaning a boat (*Bp. Myth.*, p. 90). Just as the moon on Siva's head often sticks in the mud of ashes and then is released of it, so also the boat in course of that journey often stuck in mud and often was free from it. Kielhorn translates *ujjhita* as 'abandoned.' But there could be hardly any point in saying that the king's boat was abandoned which would not not be complimentary to him; 'free' would be the proper translation. By using the word *keli* after *jaya* the poet perhaps wants to convey the idea that the expedition was nothing more than a water sport (*jala-keli*) to the king.

² For the same idea cf. *yūpair=datta - kar-āvalambanatayā pāda=vyapekshā-chyutah Dharmo=tr-ālā chatur-yuge=pi kalin=ānandah parispandate* etc. in the Barnagar inscription of Kumārapāla, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 299.

³ He set up images of gods in temples ; thus the gods were brought down on earth. Again his enemies being killed became possessed of divine bodies and went up to heaven to live there. The interchange was thus brought about. Finally the tops of temples reaching upto heaven and the extensive lakes excavated by him on earth reduced their respective sizes and both being thus reduced in extent were similar to one another. Cf. Kielhorn, *op. cit.*, p. 314, n. 61

(Verse 27). Oh ! Sun ! now that the path of your horses is obstructed by this building it is in vain that you make the sage (Agastya) yet an inhabitant of a corner of the southern quarter. Let him break his agreement and repair to another quarter and the Vindhya rise to its utmost (*height*). Even then it will not be able to attain to the position of this temple !²

(Verse 29). In front of (the temple of) the enemy of Pura, he excavated a lake filled with water (*the surface of*) which is marked with the flowers of rays emanating from the crores of jewel-bits on the coronets of Serpent (Nāga) ladies, and (*to these flowers*) are attracted bees on account of the musk on the breasts of citizens' wives who plunge into the water (*for the purpose of bath*).

(Verse 30). (*The god had for his*) clothes the sky⁴ and has (*now*) been provided with dresses of variegated colour. He (*who*) was the husband of only half a lady⁵ has been given a hundred beautiful females⁶ the charms of whose body are enhanced by (the wearing of) jewellery. His residence was the

¹ In this passage the temple has been compared with the Maināka mountain. It is said that Indra cut off the wings of all mountains, but he could not do so of Maināka who came last. He jumped into the sea and saved himself. Cf. *Kuṇḍarasambhava*, I, v. 20, which mentions the sea as his friend. See also M. Williams, *s. v.*, 'Maināka' and *Ep. Myth.*, p. 9. The words *mālabhadhi* and *śkaśha* used in the above verse are thus significant. The temple is represented as being situated in the sea of space just as the Maināka is situated in the midst of the sea. The words *śākā, māla, kāṇḍa, madhya*, and *antariṅga* are well-known architectural terms and denote different parts of the temple, a fact entirely missed by Kiethorn. The last word *antariṅga* has been rendered by him as 'chad psets' Cf. however such technical words as *amburita* (*Magumata*, Triv. Ser., Ch. XIII, v. 13) *antirika* and *antari* (*Śipura*, Pt. I, Triv. Ser., Ch. XVIII, vv. 12 and 14) in the sense of the uppermost portion of a structure (see also Rāṇarāj, *Essay on the Architecture of the Hindus*, p. 23). The epithet *Vasumatī-vāsava* i. e. Indra of Earth is also significant. Indra is one of the mythological teachers of *Vāstusāstra* (architecture). *Matsyapurāṇa*, ch. 252, v. 2. For some of these architectural references I am indebted to Mr. Tārāpada Bhaṭṭāchārya, Govt. Research Scholar.

² About Agastya Kielhorn refers to *Raghu*, VI, v. 61 (*vindhyaśya samāmbhayaṭe* etc.). Vindhya was rising higher and higher to obstruct the path of the sun (see Mallinātha's commentary on the verse), but Agastya when he went to the south stopped him. See Rāmāyaṇa, Nīrṇayaśāstra III, XI, 85, — *mārgam niruddham sūtanam bhāskarasya* = *āchalottamaṃ saṃdāḥam pātyānam-asuram Vindhyaśailam vadhate*. For a full description of Agastya's achievement see Holtzmann, *Z. D. M. G.*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 589. Cf. also Govardhana's *Ārgasapiśaṭi*, v. 610 where Vindhya is described as *sambhāciti-rari-natha stambha*.

The poet here brings in the simile of the creator with the potter. The jar surmounting the temple is the *śikhara*. Cf. *Brahmāṇḍa-kumbhākāra* in *Āryaśatapatha*, v. 17.

² Digambara is an epithet of Śiva.

⁵ Ardhanāganāśvāmin or Ardhanārīśvara is an epithet of Śiva.

⁶ These are female attendants in the temple.

cremation-ground ; he has (*now*) been provided with palaces¹ full of citizens. He (*who*) subsisted on alms has been provided with a fortune. The **Sena** family knows well how to support the poor.

(Verse 31). He furnished according to his own taste² an attire for that wearer of skulls at the destruction of the universe, in which a piece of variegated silk took the place of the elephant hide, the thick necklace across his breast that of the lord of serpents, the sandal-powder that of ashes, a string of sapphires in his hand that of beads, the long emeralds that of snakes and the lovely pearls that of human bones.

(Verse 32). Of him who by the (*mere*) play of his arms has made the earth remain under one single umbrella no further desire is likely to be left unfulfilled. And what else will the Half-moon-crested one (i. e. Śiva) grant him, even if he is pleased ? Let it be only this—before the end of the last stage (*of life*) may (god) grant him communion with himself.

(Verse 33). A Vālmīki or a Vyāsa may be able to chant his deeds. What we strive for (*here*) is only to purify our speech by bathing it in the Heavenly river (i. e. the Ganges) of his fame.

(Verse 34). As long as the river of the city of Indra purifies the earth, the etherial space and the heaven ; as long as the crescent-moon serves as the head-ornament of the Lord of Evil beings (i. e. Śiva), as long as the three Vedas whiten (i. e. purify) the minds of the good—so long also may their friend, his Fame, engage herself in similar occupations.³

(Verse 35). This eulogy, a soft string made without knots, of the serene pearls, namely the kings of the **Sena** family, is the work of the poet **Umāpati-dhara** whose knowledge has become accurate by a critical study of words and meanings of words.

(Verse 36). The **Rāṇaka Śulapāṇi**, who is the son of Bṛihaspati, grandson of Manadāsa and greatgrandson of Dharmā, and who is the crest-jewel of the host (or guild) of artists of **Varendra**⁴ has engraved this eulogy.

¹ Kielhorn translates *paurāṇhyāś-cha puriḥ* as 'towns filled with citizens.' I take *puriḥ* in the sense of 'palatial buildings,' and it has in my opinion reference to the grand temple and its adjuncts dedicated to the god, Śiva is a ideal poverty-stricken person. He has neither clothes to wear, a house to live in, nor even a decent means of subsistence ! So one who wants to support such an indigent person must provide him with things that he is in urgent need of. Śiva was certainly in need of a house as he was living in the cremation ground. To say that 'towns' were given to him for residence, rather than a good house would sound absurd.

² 'The arrangement of which will suit the wishes of the wearer of the skulls' etc.—Kielhorn. It is more natural to take the dress as arranged according to the taste of the devotee who makes the deity wear it.

³ That is to say his fame will purify, decorate and whiten (cf. *yaśasi dhavalatā* etc.—*Sāhityadarpaṇa*, VII, 23.)

⁴ I. E. North Bengal.

VI. BARRACKPUR COPPER-PLATE OF VIJAYASENA.

This copper-plate was discovered some eighteen years ago in a village near Barrackpur Cantonment in the district of 24 Parganas by Mr. G. A. Schumacher, an assistant in the service of Messrs. Bird & Co. of Calcutta. The circumstances under which it was found are not known. According to Mr. R. D. Banerji the plate after being for some time in the hands of the late Mr. V. Venkayya in 1910, was sent to the late Dr. D. B. Spooner, and ultimately in 1915 Mr. Banerji discovered that it had found its way to England, where it is now probably in the possession of Mr. Schumacher. Mr. Banerji first referred to this grant in his *Bāṅglār Itihās* (First ed.), p. 291 and subsequently in his *Pālas of Bengal*, p. 105. In 1920 he edited it in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XV, pp. 278 and ff and plates¹, and in 1921 Mr. R. G. Basak re-edited it in the now defunct Bengali Journal *Sāhitya*, Vol. XXXI (1328 B. S.), pp. 81 & ff.

This is a single plate engraved on both sides. The writing occupies a space of $12\frac{1}{2}$ " by $10\frac{1}{2}$ ", and the letters vary in size between $\frac{1}{2}$ " and $\frac{1}{4}$ ".² It bears a seal³ containing a representation of Śaḍāśiva. The inscription consists of 50 lines of which twenty-four lines are incised on the obverse and twenty-six on the reverse. Owing to want of space the last few letters in ll. 49-50 are engraved in a smaller size than the preceding ones. The characters belong to a variety of the Northern alphabets which may be called the precursors of the modern Bengali as current towards the beginning of the 12th century A. D. The initial sign for *ri* occurs in *Rigveda* in l. 39. The *visarga* sign exhibits the older type consisting of two small circles in the majority of cases except a few in which circles are replaced by dots, e. g. in *pitribhiḥ* and *rekhaḥ* in l. 48. The *anuscāra* sign of the older type consisting of a circle is generally used with a few exceptions, e. g. in *viśvāyām* in l. 48 and *jagatām* in l. 13. The super-script *r* stroke is sometimes placed horizontally on the top of letters⁴ e. g. in *arṇavasya* in l. 4 and in *-arthah* in l. 12.

The language is Sanskrit. With the exception of the introductory *om om namaḥ Śivāya* the text up to the middle of l. 22 and again from the middle of

¹ These were prepared from enlargement of "two indifferent negatives."

² For these measurements which I am unable to verify I have to entirely depend on Mr. Banerji's statement, *op. cit.*, p. 279.

³ The seal is not reproduced in the plate published in the *Epigraphia*.

⁴ This point in the paleography of the record has not been always correctly understood by scholars, e. g., R. D. Banerji and R. G. Basak who think that the *r* stroke is omitted by the scribe through inadvertence (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 279 and *Sāhitya*, Vol. XXXI, p. 84).

l. 45 to the end of l. 49 is in verse. The rest is in prose. The number of verses is fourteen which are composed in a variety of metres viz. Sārdūlavikrīḍita, Sragdharā, Mālinī, Āryā, Anusṭubh and Vasantatilaka. The poet employs *double entendre* in verses 3 and 5. The rules of euphony have not been observed in the compound *Āpunvāna-Aurvva* in l. 38.—In respect of **orthography** it should be noted that both the letters *v* and *b* are denoted by the same sign; a letter is usually doubled after a superscript *r*; a letter preceding a subscript *r* is rarely doubled, e. g. in *Kshattriyānām*, in l. 9; and in some cases, even when the *visarga* is joined with a following *ch* in euphony, the *visarga* is retained along with the resultant ś, e. g. in *kurerantaḥ ś-chandraḥ*, in l. 8. The *avagraha* sign is systematically omitted. The final *m* is denoted by the ordinary letter *m* written in a smaller form and raised above the base of the letters, with the *virāma* stroke placed beneath it. In l. 39 the letter ś takes the place of *sh* and the initial *i* is substituted wrongly for *yi* in *śadaṅgādhyāine*.

(The inscription is one of the *Parameśvara*, *Paramamāheśvara*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Vijayasena** *adeva* 'who meditated on the feet of' the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Hemantasena** (ll. 23-24). It opens with the usual formula *om om namaḥ Śivāya* which is followed by two verses, one in honour of Śiva (Dhūrjati) and the other in honour of the Moon (ll. 1-6) in whose lineage certain kings were born (ll. 6-8). In their family sprang up **Sāmantasena** (ll. 8-10). His son was **Hemantasena**, 'the skilful protector of kings' (ll. 11-13). From him was born **Vijayasena** whose queen **Vilāsadevī**, of the **Śūra** family (ll. 13-16), gave birth to **Vallālasena** who had the epithet *Niḥśanka-śaṅkara* (ll. 19-20). Of **Vijayasena** it is stated that he caused gifts to be made by his queen (ll. 21-22). The present document is issued by the king from his 'camp of victory' situated at **Vikramapura** (ll. 22-23), and addressed to his various officials and others whose list is given in ll. 25-30. The grant consisted of 4 *pātakas* of land belonging to the village of **Ghāsasambhoga-bhāṭṭavaḍā**, measured by the Nala standard prevalent in **Samataṭa** and yielding an income of 200 *kaparddaka-purāṇas* (ll. 32-34). It was situated in the **Khāḍi-vishaya** of the **Paunḍravardhana-bhukti** (ll. 21-32). The donee was **Udayakaradevaśarman**, great-grandson of **Ratnākaradevaśarman** who was an inhabitant of **Kāntijoṅga** and immigrant from **Madhyadeśa**, grandson of **Rahaskaradevaśarman** and son of **Bhāskaradevaśarman**, belonging to **Vatsa-gotra**. **Bhārgava**, **Chyāvana**, **Āpunvāna**, **Aurvva** and **Jāmadagnya pravaras** and a student of

the six Aṅgas of the Āśvalāyana *sākhā* of the R̥gveda (ll. 37-39). The grant was made as fee for the performance of *Homa* in connection with the Kanaka-Tulāpurusha-Mahādāna¹ ceremony of the *Mahā-mahādevī* ('the great great-queen') Vilāsadevī during a lunar eclipse, within the palace at Vikramapura (ll. 39-43). Ll. 45-48 contain the customary verses appertaining to a grant. Then is mentioned the name of Śālāddanāga who was appointed Dūta by the *Aricīṣhabhaśaṅkara* (i. e. Vijayasena) for the purpose of this grant (ll. 48-49). This is followed by the date which is the year 62, the 7th day of Vaiśākha, and finally comes the abbreviated form of official endorsement *Śrī ni Mahā ni* (ll. 49-50).

The inscription is important from many points of view. In the metrical portion the genealogy of the Senas is carried to Sāmantasena, the grandfather of Vijayasena; but in the prose portion it is not carried beyond his father, the *Mahārājādhirāja* Hemantasena. As stated elsewhere, it was probably Hemantasena who established the Imperial house of the Senas.² Sāmantasena does not appear to have wielded any real power and possibly was a petty king. The title *Mahārājādhirāja* applied to Hemantasena in the prose portion of this record as well as the epithet *rājarakṣhāsudakṣaḥ* by which he is qualified in the metrical portion, leaves no doubt as to his real claim to the dignity of sovereign power.

The expression *Śūrakulāmbhodhikaumudī* used in regard to Vallālasena's mother Vilāsadevī has led to much controversy.³ It denotes that Vallālasena was born of a daughter of the Sūra family. This fact, according to Mr. R. D. Banerji, "definitely proves that the majority of the genealogical works of Bengal are not reliable sources of historical information. According to the majority of these works Vallālasena was born in the family of a daughter's son of Ādiśūra, the mythical king of the Sūra dynasty." (*op. cit.*, p. 279). Mr. Banerji quotes from some of these *kula-granthas* in support of his view. At least one of the texts (see No. II of his extracts)⁴, however, correctly represents Vallālasena as 'the daughter's son' of a Sūra king, although the statement that he was actually 'the daughter's son' of the seventh descendant of Ādiśūra and also that a king of this name really existed may not be accepted in its entirety in the absence of reliable data. Whatever be the historicity

¹The *Dānasāgara*, a work which is ascribed to Vallālasena, gives a lengthy description of *Tulāpurushadāna*. See extract published by Puṇḍit Śyāmācharaṇa Kaviratna (Calcutta, 1836 Śaka), pp. 124-238. A Tulāpurusha was performed by Jayapāla, king of Kāmarūpa. — *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, p. 292, l. 19.

²R. G. Basak *Sārīṭya*, Vol. XXXI (1328 B. S.), p. 171.

³Banerji, *Bāṅglār Itihās* (second ed.), p. 161; R. P. Chanda—article on 'Ādiśūra' (reprint, dated 1321 B. S.), p. 9.

⁴*Rājñāḥ saptaṇa-saṁtānasya dauhitro-bhūd Vallālākhyah*. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 279.

of Ādiśūra this is now certain that there was a family called Sūra ; and it is corroborated by a passage in the Tirumalai inscription of 1025 A. D. which mentions a king Raṇaśūra flourishing about this date in Dakṣiṇarādhā.

That Vikramapura was one of the capitals, if not *the* capital, of Vijayasena appears highly probable in the light of this record. Lines 39-41 state that the *dakṣiṇā* on account of the Tulāpurusha ceremony was paid or the ceremony was performed, at the king's residence in Vikramapura. The construction of the sentence *Vikramapuropakārikā-madhye sati* etc. makes both these interpretations possible. Whichever interpretation we may adopt there is no doubt that Vilāsadevī performed Tulāpurusha at the king's residence in Vikramapura. Because the payment of *dakṣiṇā* immediately follows the conclusion of a ceremony and without the former the latter remains incomplete and fruitless. Therefore it cannot be maintained that the ceremony was done at one place and the payment of *dakṣiṇā* made at another. Almost every grant of the Senas is represented as being issued from Vikramapura *skandhāvāra*. And that is also the case with the present one as stated in ll. 22-23. But Vikramapura is introduced in this record, unlike other charters of the Senas, once again, in ll. 39-40 (*Vikramapuropakārikā-madhye*), which is significant, and should be specially marked. The word *skandhāvāra* may of course mean only a military encampment, but it has also the sense of *rājadhānī* according to the Bengal lexicographer of the Sena period, Halāyudha.¹ The word *upakārikā*², it may be argued, means only a temporary 'camp' for royal residence³ and not a fixed palace. But the very fact that the queen performed the elaborate Tulāpurusha-mahādāna within the Vikramapura-upakārikā is itself sufficient to show that Vijayasena had something like a permanent residence in Vikramapura. It could not have been possibly performed within a tent, pitched temporarily for the king. Vijayapura, identified with Vijaynagar in Rajshahi District, is mentioned in Dhoyī's *Paranadūta* (verse 36)⁴ as the capital (of Vijayasena). Vikramapura therefore has probably to be looked upon as his second capital.

Regarding the Khādī-*viśaya* which was included in Paunḍravardhana-*bhukti* it should be noted that Lakṣmaṇasena, grandson of Vijayasena, appears in his Sundarban copper-plate as giving away some land belonging to the Khādī-*maṇḍala* of the same *bhukti* (see Appendix). In the *Dākṛṇava*

¹ See Aufrecht's ed., p. 32, v. 131. ² *Ibid.*, p. 32, v. 135 : *grihasthānam smṛitām-rājñām upakārya opakārikā*.

³ As in *Raghuvamśa*, Canto XVI, v. 55 (*vikītopakāryā*) where *upakāryā* (same as *upakārikā*) is used in this sense.

⁴ *J. A. S. B.*, 1905, p. 58.

Khāḍī is mentioned as one of the 64 Pīṭhas, along with Rādhā, Dhikkara, Van-gāla and Harikela (H. P. Śāstrī, *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in the Govt. Col.*, Vol. I, 1917, p. 92). In his Introduction to the "Essay on Bengali Language and Literature" published in 1873, Pandit Rāngati Nyāyaratna remarked that "even to this day a pargana and a village both called Khāḍī exist in the Sundarbans."¹ In line 33 of the inscription it is mentioned that the land was measured according to the Nala standard prevalent in Samatāṭa (*Samatāṭya-nalena*). The natural inference would be that the region where the land was situated belonged to the Samatāṭa country. Samatāṭa, as the name of a portion of Bengal, is known principally from Yuan Chuang's account² and mentioned in a number of inscriptions e. g. Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta,³ Bhāgalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla,⁴ Bāghaurā inscription of the reign of Mahīpāla⁵ and a Bodhgayā inscription of Vīryendrabhadra.⁶ Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālī has shown that Samatāṭa included Bāghaurā in District Comilla. That it extended up to the Sundarbans appears very probable from the present copper-plate. This practically supports the old theory of Cunningham,⁷ namely, that Samatāṭa corresponds to the Delta of the Ganges including Jessore and other districts and that the distance given by the Chinese traveller from Tamruk "would take us to the uninhabited part of the *Sundari-rana* or Sundarbans, between Huranghata river and Bakargunj.")

TEXT.

Obverse.

1 ॐ⁸ ॐ नमः शिवाय ॥

१ कौञ्चारिद्विरदास्ययोः शिशुतया तातस्य मौलौ मिथो गङ्गा-

2 वारिणि खेलतोः शशिकलामालोक्य मध्येजटम् । शै(शै)वालावलिमध्यवृक्षफलो-

3 बुद्ध्या समाकर्षतो राक्रन्दस्फुट-कन्दलेन विहसन्नव्याजगद्भूर्जटिः ॥ [1*]¹⁰ भस्ति क्षीरमहा-

4 र्खर्वस्य तनयः प्रेयान्मनोजन्मनश्चक्षुः श्रीपरिणेतुरद्रितनयाभर्तुः शिरोभूषण[म्] ।

5 प्रागाशातरुणौ-ललाट-तिलकं पूर्वाद्रि-चूडामणिर्द्यादेवालयदैवतं दिविषदां सार-

6 स्तुषार-द्युतिः ॥ [2*]¹¹ तदंशे राजहंसच्छद-विशद-यशःकौमुदीमुद्गिरन्तः खेलन्तः क्षमाध-

¹ Ed. Girindranath Banerji (Chinsura, 1327 B. S.), Preface to First edition, p. ii. Khāḍī Pargana and Khāḍī village are within the Diamond Harbour subdivision of the 24 Parganas.—Hunter, *Statistical Account of the 24 Parganas*, p. 106.

² Watters, *Yuan Chuang*, Vol. II, pp. 187-88.

³ Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 14.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 307.

⁵ *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. X, pp. 85-91.

⁶ Bloch, *Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv.*, 1908-9, p. 158; and N. G. Majumdar, *Sāhitya-parishat-patrikā*, 1323 B. S., pp. 69-74.

⁷ *Anc. Geo. Ind.*, pp. 501-03.

⁸ Expressed by a symbol.

⁹ Metre: Sārdūlavikriḍita.

¹⁰ Metre: Sārdūlavikriḍita.

¹¹ Metre: Sragdharā.

- 7 राणामुपरि कर-समारोप सोमन्तिताशाः । सीमानः पुण्यराशेरमृतमय-कलामण्ड-
- 8 लाभागवन्तः कुर्वन्तः श्वन्द्र¹-लोलाव वनितलभुजो राजपुत्रा बभूवुः ॥ [3*] ²तेषां वंशे बभू-
- 9 व प्रभुरुभय-कुल-प्रौढि-सम्पदगुणानामुत्त(त्त)सः क्षत्रियाणामधन-जनमनसातकानाम्यो-
- 10 दः ।³ शत्रूणामन्तकर्ता तुहिनकर-कला-भूति(र्त्ति)-कीर्त्यङ्गनानां कान्तः सामन्तसेनो रण-शिरसि
- 11 जिताराति-सामन्तसेनः ॥ [4*] ⁴शश्वत्प्रोद्गृहपद्मः प्रतिदिनमुदयी राजरक्षासुदक्षः श्वत्सु⁵-
- 12 श्वेतन्य-चिन्तामणिरनणुमहाः प्रार्थकैरयितार्थः । एतस्मादृषलाभिर्युतिभिरुपचि-
- 13 तस्तामासानां गुणानां हन्ता हेमन्तसेनो रविरिव जगतां माननीयो बभूव ॥ [5*]
- ⁶अञ्जनि
- 14 विजयसेनस्तेन राकासुधांशो रुचिभिरवचिताभिर्भास्वतोपि प्रभाभिः । शिशिर-
- 15 कर-खरांशु-श्रीर्यंशः-कौमुदीनामपि समुदयहेतुर्यत् प्रतापातपानाम् ॥ [6*] ⁷अभवद्वि-
- 16 लासदेवो शूरकुलाम्बोधि-कौमुदी तस्य [1*] नयन-युग-मञ्ज(ञ्जु)खञ्जन-विहार-केलिस्थलो
- 17 महिषी ॥ [7*] ⁸क्षत्ताणामातपन्नं कनकगिरि-शिरोवर्त्तिमार्त्तण्डतेजाः शश्वद्विश्व-म्विलिम्प-
- 18 व्रजरपुरधुनी-फेनपुण्यैर्यशोभिः । जातस्तस्मादयु(सु)ष्यान्मनसिज-रजनौजानि-सौ-
- 19 न्दर्य-सारः श्रीमद्वल्लालसेनः सुर(र)-गुरुधिवणाकामुकीकामकान्तः ॥ [8*] ⁹एवं-विध-गुणश्रे-
- 20 णिः श्रीमन्निःशङ्कशङ्करः । आखण्डल इवादित्या देवो गर्भे यया धृतः [11] [9*]
- ¹⁰दीर्घण्डचण्डि-
- 21 मनतावनिपालमौलिरत्नप्रभापटलपाटलपादपद्मः । श्रीमांस्तया विजयसेनमही-
- 22 महेन्द्रो दानान्यदापयदशेषि[त]कृत्स्नदानः ॥ [10*] स खलु श्रीविक्रमपुर-समा-वासितश्रीम-
- 23 ज्ञयस्कन्धावारात(त्) । महाराजाधिराज-श्रीहेमन्तसेनपादानुध्यात-परमेश्वर-परममाहे-
- 24 श्वर-परमभट्टारक-महाराजाधिराज-श्रीमद्विजयसेनदेवः कुशलो ।

¹ Read *kurcantaś-chandra*.² Read *in payodak*.³ Read *sudakṣhaś-chakṣhu*.⁴ Metre : Āryā.⁵ Metre : Anuṣṭubh.⁶ Metre : Śragdharā.⁷ Metre : Śragdharā.⁸ Metre : Mālinī.⁹ Metre : Śragdharā.¹⁰ Metre : Vasantatilaka.

Reverse.

- 25 समुपगताशेष-राज-राजन्यक-र(रा)ज्ञी-राणक-राजपुत्र-राजामात्य-पुरोहित-महाधर्मा-
 26 ध्वज-महासान्धिविग्रहिक-महासेनापति-महामुद्राधिकृत-अन्तरङ्ग-वृहदुपरिक-महा-
 27 क्षपटलिक-महाप्रतोहार-महाव्यूहपति-महापीलुपति-महागणस्थ-दौःसाधिक-चौरो-
 28 हरणिक-नौवलहस्यश्वगोमहिषाजाविकादिव्याधृतक-गौल्मिक-दण्डपाशिक-दण्डना-
 29 यक-विषयपत्यादीनन्यांश्च सकलराजपादोपजीविनोध्यक्षचचारोक्तान(न्) इहाकीर्त्ति-
 30 तान(न्) चट्टभट्टजातीयान(न्) ज(जा)नपदान(न्) क्षेत्तकंश्च ब्राह्मणान(न्) ब्राह्म-
 णोत्तरान(न्) यथाई मानयति ।
 31 बोधयति समादिशति च । मतमस्तु भवताम् । यथा श्रीपौण्ड्रवर्द्धनभुक्त्यन्तःपाति-
 खाडौवि-
 32 षये घाससम्भोगभाटवडाग्रामे तिच्छण्ड-जलाङ्गसौमादक्षिणपश्चिमोत्तरतः
 33 यथाप्रसिद्ध-चतुःसौमावच्छिन्ना[न्ना] समतटोयनलेन पाटकचतुष्टय¹ कपर्दकपुरा-
 34 णशतद्वयोत्पत्तिः भूमिरियं तृणपूतिगोचरपर्यन्ता सतला सोद्देशा साम्प्रपनसा
 35 सगुवाक-नारिकेला सवना सजलस्थला सगर्तोषरा सद्यदशापराधा परिहृतस-
 36 र्व्वपोडा अचट्टभट्टप्रवेशा अकिञ्चित्प्रयाद्या समस्तराजभोगकरहिरण्यप्रत्याय-
 37 सहिता । मध्यदेशविनिर्गतकान्तिजोङ्गोय-रत्नाकरदेवशर्म्माणः प्रपौताय रत्नस्करदेव-
 38 शर्म्माणः पौताय भास्करदेवशर्म्माणः पुत्राय वत्ससगोत्राय भागवच्यावनाप्रवान-श्रीर्व्व² -जा
 39 मर्दोनि(ग्न्य)प्रवराय ऋग्वेदाखलायनशाखाश(ष)डङ्गाध्याइ(यि)ने श्रीउदयकरदेवशर्म्माणे
 विक्रम-
 40 पुरोपकारिकामध्ये सति [सो]मग्रहे अस्मन्महामहादेवी श्रीमद्विलासदेव्या दत्तक-
 41 नक्तुलापुरुषमहादाने हो[म]कर्मदक्षिणा विधिवदुदकपूर्व्वकं कृत्वा भगवन्तं, म-
 42 हेश्वरभट्टारकमुद्दिश्य मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिष्वज्ये आचन्द्रार्कचितिसम-
 43 कालं यावत् भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन ताम्रशासनौकृत्य प्रदत्तास्माभिः । तद्भवद्भिः सर्व्वरेवानु-
 44 मन्तव्यं भाविभिरपि नृपतिभिः अपहरणे नरकभयात् पालने धर्मगौरवात्
 45 पालनीयं भवन्ति चात्र धर्मानुशंसिनः श्लोकाः ³बहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः [] सग-
 46 रादिभिः यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं⁴ [॥] [11*] ⁵भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति
 47 यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति । उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्मणौ नियतं स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥ [12*] ⁶स्वदत्तां
 परदत्तां वा यो हरे-

¹ Read *chatushtayā* .² Read *phalam* .³ Read *Apurvān-Aurva* .⁴ Metre : Anuṣṭubh .⁵ Metre : Anuṣṭubh .⁶ Metre : Anuṣṭubh .

48 त वसुधारा¹ [।] स विष्ठायां क्रि(क)मिभूत्वा पितृभिः सह पच्यते । [।*] [13*] ²नृप-
गणनायिमरेखः श्रीमानरि-

49 वृषभशङ्करः क्षतवा(न्) [।*] उदयकरशासनदाने शालाब्जनागमिह दूत³ [।*] ⁴ सं
६२ वैशाखदिने ७ श्री नि

50 [म]हा नि [।*]

TRANSLATION.

Om ! Om ! Adoration to Śiva.

(Verse 1). May Dhūrjati (i. e. Śiva) protect the world, laughing at the squabble between the enemy of the Krauñcha mountain (i.e. Kārttikeya) and the elephant-faced one (i. e. Gaṇeśa), which can be understood from their cries as they are sporting together in the water of the Ganges on the head of their father,⁵ and (both) drawing the crescent moon which they have discovered amidst his matted hair, mistaking it for a *śapharī* fish entrapped in a mass of weeds.

(Verse 2). There was a son of the Ocean of Milk, (namely), the Icy-rayed one (i. e. the Moon), the friend of the Mindborn, the eye of the husband of Lakshmī, the crest-ornament of the husband of the Mountain's daughter, the point on the forehead of the young lady (*who is*) the Eastern Quarter, the crestjewel of the Eastern Mountain, the deity in the temple of firmament and the quintessence of the dwellers of heaven (i. e. gods).

(Verse 3). In his family were born princes (*rājaputras*),⁶ who ruled over the surface of the earth, imitating the character of the Moon :—they spread the rays of fame as white as the plumage of the swan, played over the kings⁷ (as the Moon plays over mountains), fixing the boundaries of different quarters by the imposition of taxes⁸ (just as the Moon divides the quarters by his rays) ; and they were the acme⁹ of virtues (just as the Moon is the limit i. e. ultimate

¹ Read *vasundharām*.

² Metre : Āryā.

³ Read *dūtam*.

⁴ Mr. Banerji reads 32, but the correct reading 62 has been pointed out by Mr. R. G. Basak (*Sahitya*, Vol. XXXI, p. 90 and n. 18 ; also *ibid*, Vol. XXXI, p. 172). See also D. C. Bhattacharya, *Ind. Ant.*, 1922, p. 157.

⁵ Cf. *Gaṅgā-vāriṇy-agādhe jhaṭiti Hara-jatā-julato datta-jhampah—Saduktikarṇāmrīta*, p. 39.

⁶ The use of the word *rājaputra* does not, I am afraid, indicate that the Senas were Rājputs (Banerji, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 279). In this place other records have *narendrāḥ* (Mādhānagar plate, l. 6).

⁷ The word *kṣhmādharma* has double meaning, 'king' and 'mountain'.

⁸ The word *kara* has double meaning, 'tax' and 'rays'.

⁹ The word *śīman* means both 'acme' and 'limit'.

¹⁰ In one case *punya-rāśi* means 'mass of virtue' (*tap-purusha* compound), and in the other it means 'one who has a mass of virtue' (*bahuvrīhi* compound). There is a common belief that meritorious people after their death go to the Moon (*Chandraloka*).

goal of those who have great virtue) and acquired perfection in the multitude of nectar-like fine arts¹ (just as the moon has a perfect circle of nectarine digits).

(Verse 4). In their lineage flourished **Sāmantasena**, who brought about the dignity, prosperity and merit of both the families (paternal and maternal), became the head-ornament of the Kshatriyas, the water-bestowing cloud to the *chātaka*-like minds of the penniless, the exterminator of foes, the beloved of Fame having as (*beautiful*) an appearance as that of the digit of the Icy-rayed one (i. e. the moon) and who, at the head of the battle, repulsed the forces of the vassals (*sāmantas*) of his enemies.

(Verse 5). From this (i. e. **Sāmantasena**) arose **Hemantasena**, who eternally kept the goddess Lakshmī (*Padmā*)² awake (as the sun opens lotus-buds), became (*more and more*) prosperous³ everyday (as the sun rises daily), was skilful in the protection of kings⁴ (as the sun by its rays protects the moon),⁵ was the eye (of his people) (as the sun is the eye of the world),⁶ the touchstone of knowledge (as the sun brings consciousness to the world),⁷ and possessed great valour⁸ (as the sun has great brilliance). From him wealth was solicited by supplicants⁹ (as the sun is prayed to by devotees so that they may attain their desired objects). He was full of the brilliance of prowess (as the sun is full of hot rays) and the destroyer of evil powers¹⁰ (as the sun destroys darkness), and thus (*in every respect*) became like the sun an object of veneration to the (*three*) worlds.

(Verse 6). By him was begotten **Vijayasena** who was as it were endowed with moon-beams as well as the rays of the sun at one and the same time, and thus had the beauty of (*both*) the moon and the sun. He was the cause of the spread of the moonlight of his fame and the sunshine of his prowess.

(Verse 7). **Vilāsadevī**, who was like the moonlight on the ocean of the **Sūra** family, became his queen and the enjoyable sporting-ground of the beautiful *khañjana* birds, namely, (*his*) pair of eyes.

(Verse 8). From him was born **Vallālasena**, who is the very parasol (i. e. protection) of the Kshatriyas, the dazzling sun on the top of the Golden mountain (i. e. Meru), who has constantly anointed the Universe with his fame which

¹ The word *kalā* means the digits of the Moon as well as Fine arts.

² There is a play on the words *Padmā* and *padma*.

³ The word *udaya* means both 'rise' and 'prosperity'.

⁴ The word *rājan* means both 'king' and 'moon'.

⁵ The moon has no light of her own.

⁶ Cf. *Ep. Myth.*, p. 84.

⁷ Just as the world wakes up at sun-rise being touched by its rays, so also people coming in contact with him acquires knowledge (*chaitanya*).

⁸ The word *mahās* means both 'valour' and 'brilliance'.

⁹ The word *artha* means both 'wealth' and 'object of desire,' and the word *prārthaka* both 'beggar' and 'devotee'.

¹⁰ The expression *tāmasānām gunānām* refers to both 'darkness' and 'dark qualities.'

is as holy as the foam of the river of the city of the gods (i. e. the Ganges), who is the quintessence of the beauty of the god of Love and of the bride of the night (i. e. Moon) and the cherished lover of that passionate woman, namely Intellect of the preceptor of the gods.¹

(Verses 9-10). By her who bore in her womb that illustrious **Niḥsaṅka-Saṅkara** having these good qualities, as was (borne) the Sun by Aditi,—the great Indra of the Earth and that bestower of endless gifts of various kinds, **Vijayasena**, whose lotuslike feet were made pink-coloured by the multitude of rays issuing from the gems on the heads of kings, bowing down to him on account of the fierceness of his clublike arms, caused donations to be made.

(Lines 22-31). Now, from his victorious camp situated in **Vikramapura**, the *Parameśvara*, *Paramamāheśvara*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Vijayasena**, who meditated on the feet of the *Mahārājādhirāja* **Hemantasena**, being in good health—duly honours, informs and orders all those that have assembled, viz. the *Rājans*, *Rājanyakas*, *Rājñīs*, *Rāṇakas*, *Rājaputras*, *Rājāmātyas*, the priests, *Mahādharmaḍhyaksha*, *Mahāsāndhivigraḥika*, *Mahāsenāpati*, *Mahāmudrādhikṛita*, *Antaraṅga-Bṛihaduparika*, *Mahākṣapatalika*, *Mahāpratihāra*, *Mahāvṛyūhapati*, *Mahāpīlupati*, *Mahāgaṇastha*, *Dauḥ-sādhika*, *Chauroddharanika*, officers engaged over fleet, army, horses, cows, buffaloes, goats, sheep etc., the *Garlmikas*, *Daṇḍapāśīkas*, *Daṇḍanāyakas*, *Vishaypatīs* and all others who are dependant on the king, whose names are mentioned in the chapter on officers but are here omitted, people of the *Chātṭa* and *Bhaṭṭa* class, the cultivators, the *Brāhmaṇas* and the chief among *Brāhmaṇas* :—

(Lines 31-43). Be it known to you that 4 *pāṭakas* of land (measured) by the *Nala* of **Samataṭa**, yielding an income of 200 *kapardaka-purāṇas*, in the village of **Ghāsambhogabhāṭṭavaḍā**² belonging to the **Khādī-vishaya** of the **Paundravardhana-bhukti**, having half of the marshy land *Tikshahaṇḍa* as its southern, western and northern boundaries, along with grass, *pūti* plant, pastures, with bottom and surface, with mango and jackfruit trees, with betelnut and coconut trees, with forest, with land and water, with pits and barren tracts, with toleration of the Ten Sins, with exemption from forced labour, not to be entered by *Chātṭas* and *Bhaṭṭas*, free from all sorts of dues and along with taxes and tributes

¹ This means that though Intellect was the wife of the preceptor of the gods, she really loved this king and not her own husband!

² *Sam'hoga* is probably a territorial unit like *bhoga* which consisted of *grāmas* e. g. in *Dudia plates* of *Pravarasena II*, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 261, ll. 16-17.

of gold enjoyed by the king, is given by Us with due libation of water, in the name of lord Mahesvara-bhattāraka, for as long as the sun, moon and earth endure, according to the principle of Bhūmichchhidra, by means of a copper-plate, to Udayakaradeva-śarman, son of Bhāskaradevaśarman and great-grandson of Rahaskaradevaśarman who is an inhabitant of Kāntijongā and immigrant from Madhyadeśa, a student of the Āśvalāyana *sākhā* of the R̥gveda and of the six Āṅgas, belonging to the Vatsa-*gotra* and Bhārgava, Chyāvana, Āpnuvāna, Aurvva, Jāmadagnya *pravaras*, in the palace of Vikramapura, as fee for conducting *Homa* in the 'Great Gift' of my 'Great Great Queen', the illustrious Vilāsadevī, in which the Golden Tulāpurusha was given away on the occasion of Lunar Eclipse.

(Lines 43-48). So you should all give your assent to it. It should be protected by future kings also (*considering that*) its taking away entails the fear of falling into hell and its protection, great virtue. There are also verses in this matter, in praise of Dharma :

(Ver e 11). Land has been given away by kings, Sagara and others ; who-soever at any time owns the land to him belongs at that time the fruit (*of such grant*).

(Verse 12). He who receives a land grant and also he who bestows it both attain merit and always go to heaven.

(Verse 13). He who takes away land given either by himself or by others rots along with his forefathers as a worm in dirt.

(Verse 14). The illustrious Vṛishabhaśaṅkara (i. e. Vijayasena), who is counted first in the list of kings, has made Śāāḍḍanāga, the *Dāta* of the gift of this charter to Udayakara.

(Line 49). The year 62, the 7th day of Vaiśākha.

(Lines 49-50). (*Endorsed by*) the illustrious (*king*). (*Endorsed by*) the (Mahāsāndhivigrahika or Mahāmātra ?)

VII. NAIHĀTĪ COPPER-PLATE OF VALLĀLASENA.

This copper-plate was unearthed in 1911, by a number of labourers while repairing a road in the village of Naihātī, in the Kāṭwā sub-division of the District of Burdwan, at a distance of about one hundred yards from the western bank of the river Ganges. The findspot is six miles from Kāṭwā and falls within the estate of Babu Baidyanath Chatterji, Zamindar of Sītāhātī, which is a village adjacent to Naihātī.

The inscription was published along with a Bengali translation by Mr. Tarak Chandra Ray in the *Journal of the Vaṅgīya-Sāhitya-Parishat*, Vol. XVII, pp. 231-45 and plates and by Mr. Banwari Lal Goswami in the *Pravāsī*, 1317 B. S., pp. 530-33. An article containing a better edition and translation of the record was published in Bengali by Messrs A. K. Maitra and R. G. Basak in the *Sāhitya* (Calcutta, B. S. 1318), Vol. XXII, pp. 519-27 and 575-85. It was thereafter edited and translated by Mr. R. D. Banerji in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIV, pp. 156-63 and plates. The present treatment is based on a set of inked estampages taken from the original copper-plate, now deposited in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

This is a **single plate** measuring 13½" by 15". At the top is affixed a seal, containing a representation of Sadāśiva.¹ The writing is very neatly and beautifully done and consists of 64 lines, of which thirty-two are engraved on the obverse and thirty-two on the reverse. The size of the letters is about ⅜".

The **characters** belong to a variety of the Northern alphabets, which may be called the precursors of the modern Bengali, as current in North-Eastern India in the 12th century A. D. The only letters to note are the initial *ā* occurring in line 41 and initial *o* in lines 51 and 63. The **language** is Sanskrit. With the exception of the introductory *om om namaḥ śivāya* the text upto the end of line 28 and again from *bahubhir=vasudhā dattā*, etc. in line 56 to the end of line 63, is in verse. The rest is in prose. The verses are fourteen in number, being composed in a variety of metres viz. Śārdūlavikrīḍita, Mandākrāntā, Śragdharā, Āryā, Vasantatilaka and Śikharinī. The rules of euphony have not been observed in *saṁeta-ādḥaka-* in lines 45-6.

In respect of **orthography** the following points should be noted: both the letters *b* and *v* are denoted by the same sign; a letter following the

¹ For Sadāśiva see remarks below, 'Ānuliā copper-plate of Lakṣmānasena.'

superscript *r* is occasionally doubled; and that the *avagraha* sign is used in five out of eight cases. The final *t* is erroneously employed in *pādānudhyāt*, in line 30.

(The inscription is one of the *Parameśvara*, *Paramamāheśvara*, *Paramabhaitāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Vallālasenadeva**, who 'meditated on the feet of' the *Mahārājādhirāja* Vijayasenadeva (ll. 29-31). The record opens with the auspicious formula *om om namaḥ śivāya* followed by an invocation to Śiva as Ardhanārīśvara (v. 1). Then is introduced the Moon-god (v. 2). Some princes born in his family are next stated as having settled in **Rāḍhā** (v. 3); a descendant of them was **Sāmantasena** (v. 4). His son was **Hemantasena**, who was a worshipper of the god having the Bull standard (i. e. Śiva) (v. 5). His son was **Vijayasena** (v. 7); from his chief queen **Vilāsadevī** (v. 10) was born **Vallālasena**, who made the following grant to a person named Ovāsudeva on the occasion of the Hemāśvadāna ceremony performed by her during a solar eclipse (v. 14). It was issued from the 'camp of victory' situated in **Vikramapura** (l. 29). Here follows the customary list of officers and other persons connected with the grant (ll. 31-37). The village granted was **Vāllahitṭhā** consisting of 7 *bhūpālakas*, 9 *droṇas*, 1 *āḍhaka*, 40 *unmānas* and 3 *kākas*, measured by the standard called *Vṛishabhaśaṅkara-nala* or 'the reed of **Vṛishabhaśaṅkara**'. The village was situated in the **Svalpadakṣhiṇa-vṛthi** belonging to the **Uttara-Rāḍhā-maṇḍala** of the **Vardhamāna-bhukti** (ll. 37-46). The boundaries of the village are specified in lines 38-44 (for which see the translation). The donee's name and the object of the grant are now stated once again. In this connection it is mentioned that: the donee Ovāsudevaśarman was the son of Lakṣmīdevaśarman, grandson of Bhadrēśvaraśarman and great grandson of Varāhadevaśarman; he belonged to the Bharadvāja *gotra*, Bhāradvāja, Āṅgīrasa and Bārhaspatya *pravaras*, and was a student of the Kauthuma-*sākhā* of the Sāmaveda (ll. 49-51); and that he served in the capacity of the *Āchārya* in the Hemāśvamahādāna¹ ceremony performed by the king's mother **Vilāsadevī** on the banks of the Ganges, on the occasion of a solar eclipse and received this village as the fee (*dakṣhiṇā*) for his services (ll. 51-52). The customary verses in connection with a grant of land are next inserted in lines 56-62. Then it is stated that the *Sāndhivigrahika* **Harighoṣha** was appointed to act as the *Dūta* by king **Vallālasena**, in this grant to Ovāsu (v. 21). Finally comes

¹ It is one of the 'sixteen great gifts' described in the *Matsya-Purāṇa*, Ch. 280, Verses 1-15.

the date, the regnal year 11 and the 16th day of Vaiśākha, together with an abbreviated form of official endorsement¹ as follows : *Śrī ni mahāsām karaṇa ni* (l. 64).

It has been stated above² that the Senas originally came from Karṇāṭa in the Deccan. And this record definitely states that the immediate predecessors of Sāmantasena, who are described as *rājaputras* or 'princes', settled in Rāḍhā, i. e., roughly the Burdwan Division. It is just possible that these fortune-seekers from the South poured into Bengal at a time when the imperial power of the Pālas was getting weaker and weaker. With Rāḍhā as their centre of operations they seem to have gradually advanced eastward and finally absorbed the entire Pāla kingdom in Bengal. The part played by Sāmantasena in the formation of the Sena kingdom is obscure and probably he never was a king, although he is credited, in the Deopārā inscription, with having gained a victory over the enemies of a Karṇāṭa prince. The identity of this prince as well as that of his enemies has not yet been established.³

In verse 7 Vijayasena is qualified by the phrase *niregāja-vikrama-tiraskṛita-Sāhasāṅka* which according to Mr. Banerji means that "Vijayasena defeated a king named Sāhasāṅka."⁴ He concludes that this Sāhasāṅka is to be identified with a prince called Sālavāhanadeva, mentioned in a Chamība grant of his son Somavarmadeva, which the late Professor Kielhorn referred to about 1050 A. D. But it is doubtful whether the passage in question has any historical bearing at all. The poet seems to indicate by means of a rhetoric that Vijayasena wielded great power (*vikrama*) which 'eclipsed even that of Vikramāditya'. This most probably bears an allusion to the mythical hero of that name and not to any of Vijayasena's contemporaries. Such extravagant expressions used by the panegyrist are so familiar to us that they need not be taken seriously.

During the Pāla-Sena period the country of Rāḍhā appears to have consisted of two parts, the Northern and the Southern. The Northern half was called Uttara-rāḍhā and the Southern, Dakṣiṇa-rāḍhā. The present record as well as the Belāva copper-plate of Bhojavarman mentions the former, while the latter is referred to in Sridhara's *Nyāyakandalī* (991 A. D.).⁵ The names of both the divisions occur, in their Dravidianised forms as *Uttiralāḍam* and *Takkana-*

¹ Such stanzas in Āryā metre at the end of a charter are a general feature of the Sena copper-plates.

² *Ante*, p. 44.

³ Mr. R. P. Chanda thinks that he is no other than Kumāra Vikramāditya, son of Someśvara I, the Chalukya king of Kalyani (Nizam's State) — *Gaudarājamālā*, pp. 46-7. See discussion on this point by Mr. Banerji in the *Prabāsi*, 1319 B. S., pp. 395-96. He is of opinion that the Karṇāṭa prince is Rājendra Chola I.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, p. 157.

⁵ *J. A. S. B.* (N. S.), Vol. VIII (1912), p. 341, n. 1.

lādam, in the Tirumalai inscription of Rājendrachola I, dated 1025 A. D.¹ The words *bhukti*, *maṇḍala* and *vīthī* denoting the different units of a province are noteworthy. The term *vīthī* occurs also in the Ghughrāhātī grant of Samāchāradeva and the Nālandā grant of Devapāladeva.² Vardhamānabhukti is referred to again in the Govindapur copper-plate of Lakshmanasena.³

Besides Vāllahitthā, the village that was given away, the copper-plate mentions a number of other villages viz. Jalasothe, Khāṇḍayillā, Ambayillā and Molāḍandī, which formed its different boundaries. They have been identified by Mr. Tarak Chandra Ray,⁴ respectively with modern Bāluṭiyā, Jalasothe, Khāruliā, Ambalgrām and Murundī. The present situation of the identified villages is as follows, according to Mr. Ray : Bāluṭiyā is about 6 miles to the west of Naihātī (the find place of the copper-plate), on the northern boundary of the Burdwan District. To its north is Jalasothe, which is now included in the Murshidabad district. To its south is Khāruliā, to the east and south of which is Ambalgrām. To its west is Murundī. As regards the river Singaṭiā, mentioned in the record, Mr. Ray observes that there is at present only a canal to the south and east of the village of Bāluṭiā. This might be the river Singaṭiā although it is not called by that name.)

TEXT.

Obverse.

1 ॐ ॐ नमः शिवाय ॥

१सन्ध्या-ताण्डव-सम्बिधानविलसन्नान्दो-निनादोस्मिन्निर्ममर्यादर

2 -सार्धं वो दिशतु वः श्रेयोर्देनारीश्वरः । यस्यार्द्धे ललिताङ्गहारवलनैर्द्धे च भीमो

3 -इष्टैर्नाट्यारम्भये र्जयत्यभिनयद्देधानुरोधश्चमः ॥ [1*] १वर्षाच्छालपरिप्लवो
निधिरपां

4 त्रैलोक्यवीरः स्मरो निस्तन्द्राः कुसुदाकरा मृगदृशो विश्रान्तमानाधयः । यस्मिन्नभ्युदिते

5 चकीरनगराभोगे सुभिन्नोत्सवः स श्रौकण्ड-शिरोमणिर्विजयते
देवस्तमोवक्त्रभः ॥ [2*] १वंशे

6 तस्याभ्युदयिनि सदाचारचर्या-निरुद्धिप्रौढां राट्टामकलितचरैर्भूषयन्तोऽनुभावेः । शश्व

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 232 ; Banerji, *Mem. A. S. B.*, Vol. V, No. 3, pp. 72-73.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 318 and n. 2.

³ See below. Vardhamānapura is mentioned in the Chittagong plate of Kāntideva (Cir. 800 A. D.)—*Modern Review*, 1922, p. 613. But this Vardhamānapura had probably nothing to do with the Vardhamānabhukti.

⁴ *Journal of the Vaidya-Sāhitya-Parishad*, Vol. XV, pp. 232-34 and map facing p. 231.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁷ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

⁶ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

⁸ Metre : Mandākrāntā.

- 7 - हिश्वाभयवितरणस्थूललक्ष्यावलम्बैः कीर्त्तुप्रसूलैः स्रपित-विद्यतो जज्ञिरे
राजपुत्राः ॥ [3*] ¹तेषाम्वं-
- 8 ग्रे महौजाः प्रतिभट-पृतनाम्भोधिकल्पान्तसूरः कीर्त्ति-ज्योत्स्नोज्ज्वलश्रोः प्रिय-
कुमुदवनोक्ता-
- 9 -सलीलामृगाङ्कः । आसीदाजन्मरक्तप्रणयिगणमनोराज्य-सिद्धि-प्रतिष्ठा-श्रीशैलः
सत्यशीलो नि-
- 10 रूपधि-करुणाधाम सामन्तसेनः ॥ [4*] ²तस्मादजनि वृषध्वज-चरणाम्बुज-
षट्पदो गुणाभरणः ।
- 11 हेमन्तसेनदेवो वैरिसरः-प्रलयहेमन्तः ॥ [5*] ³लक्ष्मी-स्नेहार्त्तदुग्धाम्बुधि-वलनरय-
अञ्जया मा
- 12 -धवेन प्रत्यावृत्तप्रवाहोच्छलितसुरधुनोश्ङ्कया शङ्करेण । हंसश्रेणी-विलामोज्ज्वलित-
13 निजपदाहंयुना विश्वधात्रा सुवामारामसीमाविहरणललिताः कीर्त्तयो यस्य
दृष्टाः ॥ [6*] ⁴त-
- 14 -स्मादभूदखिल-पार्थिवचक्रवर्त्ती निर्व्याज-विक्रम-तिरस्कृतसाहसाङ्कः । दिक्पाल-
चक्र-पु-
- 15 -टभेदन-गीतकीर्त्तिः पृथ्वीपतिर्विजयसेनपदप्रकाशः ॥ [7*] ⁵आम्यन्ती-
नाम्वनान्ते ⁶यदरि-मृ-
- 16 -गदृशां हारमुक्ताफलानि क्खिन्नाक्कोर्षानि भूमौ नयनजल-मिलत्-कज्जले क्खिञ्चितानि ।
यत्ताञ्चि
- 17 -न्वन्ति दर्भक्षतचरणतलासृग्विलिप्तानि गुञ्जा-स्रग्-भूषा-रम्य-रामास्तनकलश-
घनाश्लेषलोलाः
- 18 पुलिन्दाः ॥ [8*] ⁷प्रत्यादिशन्नविनयं प्रतिवेश्म राजा बभ्राम कार्मुकधरः किल
कार्तवीर्यः । अस्या-
- 19 -भिषेक-विधिमन्त्रपदैर्निरीतिरारोपितो विनयवर्त्मनि जीवलोकाः ॥ [9*]
⁸पद्मालयेव दयि-
- 20 -ता पुरुषोत्तमस्य गौरीव वाल-रजनीकर-शेखरस्य । अस्य प्रधानमहिषी जगदीश्वर-

¹ Metre : Sragdharā. Read *m ramśe*.

² Metre : Sragdharā.

³ Metre : Sārdūlavikrīḍita.

⁴ Metre : Vasantatilaka.

⁵ Metre : Āryā.

⁶ Metre : Vasantatilaka.

⁷ Read *-nām vanānte*.

⁸ Metre : Vasantatilaka.

- 21 -स्य शुद्धान्त-मौलिमणिरास विलासदेवौ ॥ [10*] ¹एषा सुतं सुतपसां
सुकृतेरसुत वल्लालसेनम-
- 22 -तुलं गुणगौरवेन अध्यास्त यः पितुरनन्तरमेकवीरः सिंहासनाद्रिशिखरं नरदेव-
- 23 -सिंहः ॥ [11*] ²यस्यारि-राज-ग्रिशवः शवरालयेषु वालैरलीक-नरनाथ-
पदेऽभिषिक्ताः । दृष्टाः प्रमोद-
- 24 -तरलेक्षणया जनन्या निश्वस्य वत्सलतया सभयं निषिद्धाः ॥ [12*] ³क्रीताः
प्राणलण-व्ययेन रभ-
- 25 -सादालिङ्ग्य विद्याधरोराकल्पं विहरन्ति नन्दनवनाभोगेषु संसक्तः ।
इत्यालोच्य नृपैः
- 26 स्मर-प्रणयिताभीकैः श्रितः स्वर्धू-नेत्रेन्दोवर-तोरणावलिमयो
यस्यासि-धारापथः ॥ [13*]
- 27 'ददाना सौवर्षं तुरगमुपरागिस्वरमणेर्यदस्योदस्राक्षीदहनि जननी शासनपदम् ।
- 28 नृप स्ताम्नोत्कीर्णं तदयमदितो[तौ] वासुविदुषे सतां दैन्योत्तापप्रशमनफला-
कालजलदः ॥ [14*]
- 29 स खलु श्रीविक्रमपुरसमावासितश्रीमज्जयस्कन्धावारात् । महाराजाधिराज-
श्रीविजय
- 30 सेनदेव-पादानुध्यात-परमेश्वर-परममाहेश्वर-परमभट्टारक-महाराजाधिराज-श्री-
- 31 -महल्लालसेनदेवः कुशलो । समुपगताशेषराजराजन्यक-राज्ञी-राणक-राजपुत्र-
राजा-
- 32 मात्य-पुरोहित-महाधर्माध्यक्ष-महासान्निविग्रहिक-महासेनापति-महामुद्राधिकृत-
- 33 अन्तरङ्गहृदुपरिक-महाक्षपटलिक-महाप्रतीहार-महाभोगिक-महापोलुपति-⁴महा
- 34 -गणस्थ-दौस्माधिक-चौरोद्धरणिक-नौवलहस्यश्व-गोमहिषाजाविकादिव्याघृतक-गोल्मि-
- 35 क-दण्डपाशिक-दण्डनायक-विषयपत्यादीन् अन्यांश्च सकलराजपादोपजीविनो-
ऽध्यक्षप्र-
- 36 -चारीकान् इहाकीर्तितान् । चट्टभट्टजातीयान् जनपदान् क्षेत्रकराश्च ब्राह्मणान्
ब्राह्म-

¹ Metre : Vasantatilaka.

² Metre : Sārdūlavikrīḍita.

³ Metre : Vasantatilaka.

⁴ Metre : Śikharipi.

⁵ The letter *l* has disappeared.

- 37 -शोत्तरान् यथाहं मानयति बोधयति समादिशति च । मतमस्तु भवतां । यथा
श्रीवर्द्धमानभुक्त्यन्तः-
- 38 पातिन्युत्तरराढामण्डले स्वल्पदक्षिणवीथ्यां खाण्डयिल्ला- शासनोत्तर
स्थित-सिङ्गटिआ-नद्यु
- 39 उत्तरतः नाडौचाशासनोत्तरस्थ-सिङ्गटिआनदी-पश्चिमोत्तरतः अम्बयिल्ला-शासन
पश्चिमस्थि-
- 40 तसिङ्गटिआ-पश्चिमतः कुडुम्बमादक्षिणसोमालिदक्षिणतः । कुडुम्बमापश्चिम-
पश्चिमगति-
- 41 सीमालिदक्षिणतः । आजहागड्डिआदक्षिणगोपथदक्षिणतः तथा आजहागड्डियो
-त्तरगो-
- 42 -पथनिःसृतपश्चिमगति मुरकोणागड्डिआकीयोत्तरालिपर्यन्त-गतसीमालिदक्षि-
णतः नाड्डि
- 43 -नाशासन-पूर्वसीमालिपूर्वतः जलसीथीशासनपूर्वस्थगोपथाहंपूर्वतः मोलाडुन्दी-
शासन-
- 44 -पूर्वस्थित-सिङ्गटिआ-पर्यन्त गोपथाहंपूर्वतः । एवं चतुःसीमाविच्छिन्नः
वाल्लहिट्ठायामः श्री-
- 45 वृषभ-शङ्करनलेन सवासुनालखिलादिभिः काकत्रयाधिकचत्वारिंशदुन्मानसमेत-
- 46 आढकनवद्रोणोत्तरसप्तभूपाटकात्मकः प्रत्यब्दं कपर्देकपुराणपञ्चशतोत्पत्तिकः
- 47 सभाटविटपः सगर्तोषरः सजलस्थलः सगुवाकनारिकेलः सस्रदशापराधः परिहृ-
- 48 -तसर्व्वपीडः लणपूतिगोचरपर्यन्तः अचट्टभट्टप्रवेशः अकिञ्चित्प्रग्राह्यः समस्त-
राजभो-
- 49 -ग्यकरहिरण्यप्रत्यायसहितः । स्वराहदेवशर्मणः प्रपौत्राय भद्रेश्वरदेवशर्मणः पौत्रा-
- 50 य लक्ष्मीधरदेवशर्मणः पुत्राय भरहाजसगोत्राय भरहाजाङ्गिरस-बार्हस्पत्य-प्रवराय
- 51 सामवेदकौथमशाखाचरणानुष्ठायिने आचार्य्यश्रोतवासु-देवशर्मणे अस्मन्मातृश्री-
- 52 विलासदेवीभिः सुरसरिति सूर्योपरागे दत्तहेमाश्व-महादानस्य दक्षिणात्वेनोत्सृष्टः
- 53 मातापितृरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोऽभिवृद्धये आचन्द्रार्कं चितिसमकालं यावत्
- 54 भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन ताम्रशासनीकृत्य प्रदत्तोऽस्माभिः । अतो भवद्भिः सर्व्वैरे-

- 55 वानुमन्तयं । भाविभिरपि भूपतिभिरपहरणे नरकपातभयात् पालने धर्मगौ-
 56 रवात् पालनोयं । भवन्ति चात्र धर्मानुशंसिनः श्लोकाः । ¹बहुभिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता राजभि-
 57 -स् सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(म्) ॥ [15*] ²भूमिं यः
 प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भू-
 58 मिं प्रयच्छति । उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्माणौ नियतं स्वर्गं गामिनी ॥ [16*] ³आस्फोट-
 यन्ति पितरो व-
 59 लग्नयन्ति पितामहाः । भूमिदाता कुले जातः स नस्त्राता भविष्यति ॥ [17*] ⁴षष्टिं
 वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गं
 60 तिष्ठति भूमिदः । आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरकं व्रजेत् ॥ [18*] ⁵खदत्ता
 परदत्तास्वा⁶यो हरत
 61 वसुन्धरां । स विष्ठायां कृमिभूर्त्वा पितृभिः सह पच्यते ॥ [19*] ⁷इति कमल-
 दलाखुविन्दुलोलां श्रिय-
 62 -मनुचिन्त्य मनुयजोवितं च । सकलमिदमुदाहृतञ्च बुद्ध्वा न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्त्तयो
 विलोप्याः ॥ [20*] ⁸जित-
 63 निखिलक्षितिपालः श्रीमदल्लालसेनभूपालः । श्रीवासुशासनेकत दूतं हरिघोषं
 सान्धिविग्रहिकम् ॥ [21*]
 64 सं ११ वैशाखदिने १३ श्री नि ॥ महासां करण नि ॥

TRANSLATION

Om. Om. Adoration to Śiva.

(Verse 1). May Ardhanārīśvara,⁹ in one half of whose body is the movement produced by 'the charming gesticulation'¹⁰ and in the other¹¹ are the terrible and extraordinary currents of the effort of dancing, (*both*) crowning with success the labour of this twofold play¹²—and who is as it were the limitless ocean of delight consisting of waves of sound of the Nāndī song¹³, unfolded in the performance of Śiva's dance at the twilight of Destruction¹⁴, bring prosperity unto you !

¹ Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

² Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

³ Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

⁴ Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

⁵ Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

⁶ Read -*atitā* vā.

⁷ Metre : Mālinī.

⁸ Metre : Āryā.

⁹ Śiva represented as half male and half female.

¹⁰ This is the female portion of Ardhanārīśvara. *Āṅgathā* is a technical term in Indian drama, meaning 'gesticulation' which has 108 sub-varieties ; and *lālita* is one of them (see *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Ch. IV, verse 12 et. seq., and verse 39).

¹¹ This is the male portion of his body.

¹² I. E. performing two kinds of gesticulation at one and the same time.

Cf. यस्याङ्गं विश्वदाह्यमनविष्टमरज्योतिरङ्गं कृपा etc. in *Saṅkīrtanāmṛta*, p. 36 :

¹³ Sung at the commencement of a drama.

¹⁴ Cf. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Ch. IV, v. 231.

दक्षयज्ञे विनिहिते संस्थाकाले महेश्वरः । नानाङ्गहारनर्तनं लयतालवशात्तु गम् ॥

(Verse 2). On whose rise the ocean swells with the abundance of joy, the god of love appears to be the hero of the three worlds, the slumber of the multitude of *kumuda* flowers is disturbed¹, the disease, namely, the wounded sense of wrath in the deer-eyed ones (*i. e.*, ladies) is cured and the city of *chakora* birds is in festive rejoicing on account of plenty of food², may that crest-jewel of Śiva, the beloved of Night (*i. e.* the Moon) become victorious.³

(Verse 3). In his prosperous family were born princes, who adorned *Rāḍhā*, that was famous as being given to righteous acts, with such dignities as were unprecedented. They were known for their benevolence⁴ in constantly granting protection to the universe and the firmament was bathed in the waves of their fame.

(Verse 4). In their family was born the mighty *Sāmantasena*, who was to the ocean of the soldiers of his enemies—the sun as it were at the time of the destruction of the world, and was the very moon brilliantly charming on account of the beams of glory, (*causing*) the sportive rejoicing of the bed of water-lilies, namely, his friends; and like the mountain (*he stood*) for the assurance of success in the mental kingdom of his friends, for ever attached to him. He followed the path of righteousness, and was the very abode of sincere compassion.

(Verse 5). From him was born *Hemantasenadeva*, who (*remained*) like a bee (*attracted*) to the lotus feet of (the god) with the Bull standard (*i. e.* Śiva). His qualities were his (*only*) decorations and he was to the lake-like multitude of his enemies, the (*veritable*) winter at the destruction of the world.⁵

(Verse 6). His Glories (*looking*) beautiful as they travelled up to the boundary of Indra's garden,⁶ were seen by Viṣṇu believing these to have been the moving current of the ocean of Milk disturbed by his love for Lakṣmī, by Śiva with the fear that they were the overflowing Ganges gushing backward (*to the source*) and by the Creator of the Universe (*i. e.*, Brahmā) with the proud feeling that his abode shone with the sportive display of a line of geese.⁷

(Verse 7). From him sprang up the venerable *Vijayasena*, the lord of

¹ Cf. *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, VII, 25.

² Cf. *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, VII, 23.

³ With this verse cf. a similar one in Tarpaṇḍighi and Ānuliā plates, *Anando-mbunīdhau* etc.

⁴ Cf. the word *sthūla-lakṣha* used in the Junāgaḍh inscription of Rudradāman (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 44, l. 14). For its interpretation 'bounteous' Kielhorn quotes Halāyudha's *Abhidhānaratnamālā*, II, 210 (*Sthūlalakṣho bahavyayā*). Cf. also *prasaṣta-lakṣya-lakṣanaḥ* in a Palitana inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 18).

⁵ For a similar expression regarding Hemantasena, cf. *Hemantaḥ pariṇanthi-pankajasaraḥ* etc., *Dānasāgara*, Introduction, verse 3 (see Appendix).

⁶ The implication is that it was the intention of the king to conquer even Indra! Cf. *krameṇa Sutrāma-jigīṣay-eva svargya-prayānābhīmukho babhāva*—Thana plates of Rāmachandra, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, p. 201.

⁷ The whiteness of Fame is common to the Milk Ocean, the Ganges and the geese.

Earth. He was the paramount sovereign amongst the host of princes whose undecitful prowess eclipsed (*even that of*) Vikramāditya¹ and whose deeds were sung (*in ballads*) in the cities of 'the lords of the quarters.'

(Verse 8). From the necklaces of the deer-eyed ones (*i. e.* ladies) of his enemies who were roaming in forests, pearls dropped and were strewn over the earth being marked by the collyrium mixed with the tears from their eyes, and (*these pearls*), besmeared with the blood from the bruises made by *darbha* grass on the soles of their feet, were carefully picked up by men of the Pulinda tribe (*mistaking these for guñjā* seeds), as they were yearning to passionately embrace the jar-like breasts of their beautiful wives who could be pleased by the (*present of*) necklaces of (*even*) *guñjā* seeds.

(Verse 9). King Kārtavīrya, (*it is said*), had to drive to every house, holding bow (*in hand*), in order to smother rebellious spirit. (*But merely*) by the chanting of the holy formulæ at the performance of (*this king's*) coronation ceremony, the entire living world became free from afflictions² and were placed under control.³

(Verse 10). The chief queen of this lord of Earth was **Vilāsadevī** shining as the crest-jewel of his female apartment, just as Lakshmi¹ was the wife of Vishṇu and Gaurī of (the god) having the young moon on his crest (*i. e.* Śiva).

(Verse 11). She gave birth to a son, **Vallālasena**, unparalleled for the fame of his qualities, as a result of the merits acquired by austerities of a high order. After his father that unique hero, a lion among princes, ascended the mountainlike 'lion-throne.'

(Verse 12). When the children of the king of his enemies in the houses of the Śavaras (*where they took refuge*) were receiving mock coronation at the hands of other children and were thus puffed up with pride, they were watched by their mother with eyes sparkling with joy and then with a sigh she forbade them being led by affection, fearing (*lest some misfortune should befall them*).

(Verse 13). "Those warriors³ who take a vow not to return from war, enjoy themselves in the precincts of the Nandana forest up to the end of the Cycle, passionately embracing the heavenly nymphs who are purchased at the cost of their life which is (*only*) like a blade of grass"—having realised this, princes, who were made fearless by the god of love, took shelter in the path made by the edge of his sword, thinking it (*a safe path*) spanned by arches,⁴ which resembled the lotus-eyes of heavenly damsels.

¹ See remarks above p. 70.

³ Mr. R. G. Basak very aptly compares *Raghu*. VI, 39.

² The six afflictions, *atirishṭi*, *anāvṛishṭi*, etc.

⁴ Mentioned as *samsaptakas* in the text.

⁵ The expression *torāṇāvalimaya* Mr. Banerji translates as 'like a series of gateways.' But here eyes are compared to arches.

(Verse 14). This king like a cloud¹ cools down the heat of poverty of good people, even out of season. Having engraved on copper this deed of gift which his mother had made on the day of a solar eclipse when she gave away a golden horse, he assigned it (*i.e.* the deed) to the learned Ovāsu.²

(Lines 29-37): Now, from the victorious camp established at **Vikramapura**, the *Parameśvara*, the devout worshipper of Maheśvara, the *Paramabhāṭāraka*, the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Vallālasenadeva**, who meditated on the feet of the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Vijayasenadeva**, being in good health, - duly honours, informs and orders those that have assembled: viz., all the *Rājans*, *Rājanyas*, the Queens, the *Rāṇakas*, *Rājaputras*, the prime-minister, the priest, the *Mahādharmādhyaksha*, *Mahāsāndhivigrahika*, *Mahāsenāpati*, *Mahāmudrādhikṛita*, *Antaraṅgabrihadūparika*, *Mahākshapaṭalika*, *Mahāpratihāra*, *Mahābhogika*, *Mahāpīlupati*, *Mahāgaṇastha*, *Daussādhika*, *Chauroddharanika*, officers engaged over fleet, army, elephants, horses, cows, buffaloes, goats, sheep, etc., the *Gaulmika*, *Daṇḍāpaśika*, *Daṇḍanāyaka*, *Vishayapatīs* and all other servants of the king, mentioned in the list of *adhyakshas*, but not specified here, people of the class of *Chāṭṭas* and *Bhāṭṭas*, peasants, the Brāhmaṇas, and the chief among Brāhmaṇas;

(Lines 37-54): Be it known to you that the village of **Vāllahiṭṭhā** consisting of 7 *bhū-pātakas*, 7 *droṇas*, 1 *āḍhaka*, 34 *unmānas* and 3 *kākas* of land including dwelling plates, canals and wastelands according to the **Vṛishabhamāṇḍala śaṅkara naka**³, yielding an income of 500 *kapardaka-purāṇas* per year, situated within the **Svalpa-Dakṣiṇa-vīthī** belonging to the **Uttara-Rāḍhā** of the **Vardhamāna-bhukti** and having for its four boundaries as follows: (1) to the north of the river **Sīṅgaṭiā** flowing to the north of the village of **Khāṇḍayillā**; to the north-west of the same river **Sīṅgaṭiā** where it flows to the north of the village of **Nāḍichā**; (2) to the west of same river **Sīṅgaṭiā** where it flows to the west of the village of **Ambayillā**; (3) to the south of the southern boundary wall of **Kuḍumvamā**, also of the boundary wall going to the western direction on the west of **Kuḍumvamā**, of the cattle path to the south of **Āhāgaḍḍiyā** and of the boundary wall which commencing from the cattle path to the north of **Āhāgaḍḍiyā**

¹ Cf. a similar expression regarding Vallālasena--*daṇyottūpabhṛitām-akāḷajalalāḥ*, *Dānasūgara*, Intro., v. 5 (see Appendix.).

² The words *adita* *Ovāsuvidashe* through wrong euphony occur as *adito-Vāsuvidhushe* instead of *aditau-Vāsuvidushe*, in the text.

³ See remarks below.

goes in a westerly direction to the northern boundary wall of **Surakoṇā-gaḍḍiākiya** ;

(4) to the east of the eastern boundary wall of the village **Nāḍḍinā** and partly to the east of the cattle path to the east of **Jalasothī** village as well as of the cattle path up to the river **Siṅgaṭiā** to the east of the village of **Molāḍandī**—

is given by Us, by a copper-plate, for as long as the sun and moon endure, according to the principle of Bhūmicchhidra, for the increase of the merit and fame of myself and my parents, as a fee to the preceptor. Śrī-Ovāsudevaśarmman, son of Lakshmīdharadevaśarmman, grandson of Bhadreśvaradevaśarmman, great-grandson of Varāhadevaśarmman, who belongs to the Bharadvāja *gotra*, Bhāradvāja, Āṅgīrasa, and Bārhaspatya *pravaras* and is a follower of the *Charaṇa* of the Kauthuma *Śākhā* of the Sāmaveda, for the performance of the Great-Gift in which a golden horse is given away, by our mother **Vilāsadevī** on the occasion of a solar eclipse, on the banks of the Ganges, along with forest and branches, pits and barren tracts, land and water, betelnut and cocoa-nut trees, with toleration of the Ten sins, exempt from all oppression, along with grass, *pūti* plant, and pasture-grounds, not to be entered by Chātṭas and Bhaṭṭas, free from all sorts of dues and along with taxes and tributes of gold enjoyed by the king.

(Lines 54-56) : Therefore you should all give your assent to it. It should be protected by future kings also (*considering that*) its taking away entails the fear of falling to Hell and its protection, great virtue. There are also verses in this matter, in praise of Dharma :

(Verse 15). Land has been given away by kings Sagara and others ; who-soever at any time owns the land to him belongs at that time the fruit (*of such grant*).

(Verse 16). He who receives a land grant and also he who bestows it both attain merit and always go to Heaven.

(Verse 17). “There is born a giver of land in our line, he will be our saviour”—(*thinking this*), departed fathers clap and grandfathers jump (*with joy*).

(Verse 18). The giver of land remains in Heaven for sixty thousand years and he who confiscates or assents to (*confiscation*) lives in Hell for the same period.

(Verse 19). He who takes away land given either by himself or by others rots along with his forefathers as a worm in dirt.

(Verse 20). Therefore, men should not destroy the good deeds of others considering that Fortune and human life are as uncertain as a drop of water on a lotus petal and also realising *(the significance of)* what has been cited.

(Line 64) : **The year 11, the 16th day of Vaiśākha.**

Endorsed by the illustrious (king). Endorsed by the Māhāsān(dhivigrahika), the Karaṇa.

VIII. ĀNULĪĀ COPPER-PLATE OF LAKSHMANASENA.

This copper-plate was unearthed in 1898 in a village called Ānuliā, near Rānāghāt, in the Nadiā District of Bengal. It was first published by Pandit Rajanikānta Chakravartī in a Bengali Quarterly called *Aitihāsika Chitra*, Vol. I, Part II (Rājshāhī, 1899), pp. 277-300 and facsimiles, and subsequently by Mr. A. K. Maitra, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXIX (1900), Pt. I, pp. 61-65. I now edit it from the original copper-plate deposited in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society. The inscription is translated here for the first time.


This is a **single plate**, rectangular in size, measuring 13 $\frac{1}{4}$ " by 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". A seal bearing the representation of the ten-armed deity Sadāśiva,¹ within a circular dotted border, is affixed to the top of the plate as in other land-grants of the Sena dynasty. The writing, which is carefully executed, covers both the sides. It consists of 56 lines of which twenty-eight are on the obverse and twenty-eight on the reverse. The size of the letters is about $\frac{3}{16}$ ".


The **characters** are the precursors of the modern Bengali, as found generally in the Sena copper-plates. Compared with the Deopārā inscription of Vijayasena² this copper-plate presents some points of clear difference in alphabetic forms, such as those of *t*, *dh*, *m*, the subscript *ñ*, and the sign for *visarga*. Such differences, however, do not appear, when it is compared with the Barrackpore copper-plate of Vijayasena.³ The reading of the rare letter *jḥ*, which occurs in *sa-jḥātaviṭapa* (l. 38), calls for special remarks. This compound word is found in the Assam plates of Vallabhadeva, dated 1184-85 A. D.; and the late Prof. Kielhorn in reading the second letter as *jḥā* remarked, "as regards the letter *jḥ*, it will suffice to compare the sign for *jḥ* (which is almost exactly like *jḥ* of the modern Bengali) in *jḥūṭa* in l. 41 of the inscription, and that for *jḥ* in the

¹ Sadāśiva is intimately associated with the *Shatṭchakra* conception of the Tāntrikas. He is one of the 'six. Sivas': Brahmā, Vishnu, Rudra, Išvara, Sadāśiva and Paraśiva (*Rudrayāmala-Tantra*, Rasikamōhan's edition, p. 56; compare also p. 88 and p. 128). Sadāśiva is also one of the five Mahā-Pretas (Avalon, *Principles of Tantra*, Vol. II, p. 390, n. 4 and p. 392). A description corresponding to the figure on the seals is according to A. K. Maitra, found in the *Mahānirvāṇa Tantra*, ullāsa XIV (See Banerji, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, pp. 6-7). But it must be observed that some of the attributes assigned to the deity are not traceable on the seals and in the stone images deposited in the Museums of the Varendra Research Society, Rājshāhī and the Calcutta Sāhitya Parishad. All the attributes found in these representations of Sadāśiva tally on the other hand with a passage quoted by T. A. Gopinath Rao from Chapter 43 of the *Uttara-Kāmikāgama* (*Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, Part II, p. 197) and an extract from the *Garuḍapurāṇa* quoted by Pandit Rajanikānta Chakravartī in his *History of Gaur*, Part I, p. 215, n.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, plate opposite p. 308.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, plates opposite pp. 282, 283.

akshara jjhi (not *jhi*) of *ujjhita* in l. 21 of the Deopārā inscription with the quite different signs for the same letters in the words *jhaṭiti* and *ujjhita* in lines 28 and 7 of Vaidyadeva's plates."¹ Prof. Kielhorn further pointed out that "the term *sa-jhāṭa-viṭapa* also occurs in l. 38 of the Tarapanadighi plate of Lakshmaṇasena (*Journ. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. XLIV, Pt. I, p. 12), in line 45 of the Madanapādā plate of Viśvarūpasena (*ibid.* Vol. LXV, Pt. I, p. 13), and in line 50 of the Baker-gunj plate of the same (*ibid.* Vol. VII, p. 46)."² Since then a few more Sena land-grants have come to light, and some of the already known records have been re-edited. It may be noted that the reading proposed by Kielhorn does not seem to have obtained general acceptance. Thus in his paper on the Naihāṭī grant of Vallālasena Mr. R. D. Banerji reads, in l. 47 of the record, *sa-sāṭa-viṭapa* and remarks in a footnote that this "may also be read *sa-jhāṭa*, but *sa-sāṭa* is the reading of other Sena grants."³ The second letter which is often read as *s* and often as *jh* has the following appearance in Sena copper-plates: . The regular form of *s*, on the other hand,

occurring in them is: . In view of such important difference in form presented by the two signs it is not possible to read both of them as the same letter. The clue to the correct reading *jh* is furnished no doubt by the Assam plates, where, as Kielhorn has shown, the letter agrees with its modern Bengali form. The expression *sa-jhāṭa-viṭapa* occurs also in the Manahali grant of Madanapāla. The letter used there⁴ is somewhat earlier in type than that found in the Assam plates, and is akin to the specimens occurring in the Sena copper-plates. The Bengali type of *jh* employed in the former is found also in *sa-jhāṭa-viṭap-āranya* in the Kudopali plates of Mahābhavagupta II, l. 11.⁵

The language is Sanskrit of a highly artificial character, the text being partly in prose and partly in verse. As regards **orthography** the following points may be noted. The same sign is used throughout both for *v* and *b*. The letter *s* is used instead of *ś* only once, in *bhūyasaḥ* (l. 24). Class-nasals are not replaced by *anuvāra*, the only exception being *vinḍu* for

¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 182, note. For the letter *jh* in the Deopārā inscription see Bühler, *Ind. Pal.*, Table V, XVIII. 18.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 195, note 1.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, p. 161.

⁴ *Vaṅgīya-sāhitya-pariśat-patrikā*, Vol. V, plate opp. p. 144.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 134, n. 3. The same type of *jh* occurs also in a grant of Daṇḍimahādevī of the year 180, l. 42. See Kielhorn, *ibid.*, p. 134.

vinḍu (l. 52). After a superscript *r*, *bh* is doubled, e. g. in *r-bbhūyasah* (l. 24). The word *duḥkha* is written as *dushkha* (l. 4). The change of the *visarga* occurring before a guttural, into a lingual sibilant, perhaps represents the actual pronunciation. This feature occurs also in the same word in l. 4 of the Tarpaṇadīghi copper-plate.¹ In l. 15 we have the incorrect form *datvā* instead of *datrā*. The *aragṛaha* sign is used in four cases out of nine. In respect of **lexicography** the words *jhāṭa* and *nala* deserve special notice (for the latter see below). Prof. Kielhorn thinks that *jhāṭa* is probably a Dravidian word. It is wellknown from Sanskrit dictionaries (see Monier-Williams, *sub voce*), where the meaning 'arbour' or 'forest' has been assigned to it. Hemachandra in his *Anukārthasaṃgraha*² regards *kuñja* and *kāntāra* as synonyms of *jhāṭa*. This etymology of the word is confirmed by the occurrence of such expressions as *sa-viṭap-āraṇya* in certain land-grants,³ where *araṇya* seems to have been used in place of *jhāṭa*. Proper names such as Jhāḍakhaṇḍa⁴ (the Santhal Parganas), Jhāragrāma and so on, as well as the modern Bengali *jhāl*, denoting a 'cluster of trees,' may be compared in this connection. (See 'Bengali Dictionary' by Joges Chandra Ray, Part II, p. 355).

The record begins with obeisance to god Nārāyaṇa and an invocation in two verses to god Śiva and the moon. It then gives in seven verses the genealogy of the Sena kings from Hemantasena to Lakshmaṇasena, which are found also in the Tarpaṇadīghi and Sundarban copper-plates of Lakshmaṇasena. In the Sena family was born **Hemantasena** (v. 4) from whom sprang **Vijayasena** (v. 5). The latter's son was **Vallālasena** (v. 6), and Vallālasena's son, **Lakshmaṇasena** (v. 7). Regarding this king the copper-plate gives three new stanzas (vv. 8-10), which are not found elsewhere.

The object of the inscription is to record a grant of land, viz., a field, Mātharaṇḍiyā-khaṇḍa-khsetra (l. 38), by **Lakshmaṇasena**, who is described as *Para-meśvara*, *Paramaśaṣṭṛa*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *Mahārājādhirāja*. The plate was issued from the 'victorious camp' (*jaya-skandhāvāra*) situated at **Vikramapura**. The land granted was within the jurisdiction of **Vyāghrataṭi** belonging to the **Paundravarddhana-bhukti** (ll. 34-5). The donee was *paṇḍita* Raghu-devaśarmaṇ, son of Devadāsa-devaśarmaṇ, grandson of Śaṅkara-devaśarmaṇ

¹ See also Chatsu inscription of Bālāditya, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 11.

² See Nirṇayasāgara ed. of the *Abhidhānasamgraha*.

³ See Mahada plates of Yogeśvaravarman, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 220 and Sōnpur plates of Sōmeśvaradeva, *ibid.*, p. 240.

⁴ Cf. the same term used in a copper-plate of Nṛsiṃhadeva III - *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, 1896, Pt. I, p. 256 (l. 19).

and great-grandson of Vipradāsa-devaśarman, belonging to the Kauśika *gotra*, Viśvāmitra, Bandhula and Kauśika *pravaras* and a student of the Kāṇva *śākhā* of the Yajurveda. The date of the grant is the **ninth day of Bhādra of the third year of Lakshmaṇasena** (l. 56). The *dūtaka* is the *mahāsāndhivigrahika* Nārāyaṇadatta, who is also the *dūtaka* of Lakshmaṇasena's Tarpaṇadīghi, Sundarban and Govindapur copper-plates. Regarding the localities, which I am unable to identify, it need only be mentioned that Vyāghrataṭī is described as a *maṇḍala* of the Pauṇḍravardhanabhukti in the Khālimpur copper-plate of Dharmapāla¹ and simply as a *maṇḍala*, in the Nālandā copper-plate of Devapāla.²

In lines 36-38 it is stated that the amount of 1 ādhāvāpa, 37 unmnāsa and 1 kākiṇikā of land was measured according to the *Vṛishabha-śaṅkara-nala*. This phrase occurs also in the corresponding passages of the Naihātī grant of Vallālasena (*śrī-Vṛishabha-śaṅkara-nalena*, ll. 44-45) in connection with a grant of land in the Uttara-Rādhā-maṇḍala of the Vardhamāna-bhukti. Vṛishabha-śaṅkara, as it appears from the Madanapādā, Idilpur, as well as the Barrackpore grants, was the *viruda* of king Vijayasena, the grand-father of Lakshmaṇasena. It occurs in the form 'Ari-rāja-vṛishabha-śaṅkara' in the first two copper-plates and as 'Ari-vṛishabha-śaṅkara' in the last mentioned record. Vijayasena must have introduced some new standard of land measurement, and this evidently was called after him. The present inscription makes it certain that it continued at least upto the time of his grandson. In his own landgrant, however, Vijayasena is represented as giving away land according to the Samataṭīya-nala, i. e. the *nala* current in Samataṭa.³ It is not possible to determine whether this is the same as the Vṛishabha-śaṅkara-nala and came to be so called at a later period. A passage in the Tarpaṇadīghi copper-plate indicates that different systems of measurement were in vogue in different parts of Bengal. In l. 36 of that plate mention is made that certain land was given in the Varendrī region by king Lakshmaṇasena, and that it was measured according to the *nala* prevalent in that particular locality (*tatratya-deśa-vyavahāra-nalena*). When these documents are compared, it seems that while the Vṛishabha-śaṅkara-nala was current in the Vyāghrataṭī-maṇḍala a different *nala* measurement obtained in the Varendrī-maṇḍala. According to the Govindapur copper-plate the *nala* current in the Vardhamāna-bhukti consisted of 56 cubits. In one of the Dāmodarpur copper-plates of Budhagupta the phrase *ashtaka-navaka-*

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 249.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, p. 323.

³ See above p. 66.

[illegible]

nalābhyām occurs in connection with the measurement of land¹ and the same is found also in certain Faridpur copper-plates,² where, however, the word *nala* is used in its singular form. Mr. Pargiter in his article on the Faridpur plates made an attempt to explain the phrase and came to the conclusion that it had reference to land measurement according to 8 by 9 *nalas*. He would take *nala* in the sense of a 'reed' consisting of a number of cubits varying according to the locality.³ Vṛṣhabha-śaṅkara-*nala*, as already stated, was evidently a standard introduced by the king. An analogy is furnished by the Nilgūṇḍ inscription of Taila II, which refers to the allotment of land according to the king's measuring rod (*rājamānena daṇḍena*).⁴ Reference to a standard *nala* fixed by officers of the crown occurs in an Orissa plate of Nṛsiṃhadeva which has *Chandradāśa-karaṇasya nalapramāṇena* and *Śrī-karaṇa-Sivadāsa-nāmaka-nala-pramāṇena*.⁵

TEXT.

Obverse.

- 1 ॐ⁶ नमो नारायणाय ॥ विद्युद्यत्त मणिद्युतिः फणिपतेर्व्वालेन्दुरिन्द्रायुधं वारि
- 2 स्वर्ग-तरङ्गिणो सितशिरोमाला वलाकावलिः । ध्यानाभ्यासममोरणोपनि-
- 3 हितः श्रेयोङ्करोद्भूतये भूयाद्दः स भवार्त्ति-तापभिदुरः शम्भोः कपर्दीस्त्रुदः ॥⁷ १.]
- 4 आनन्दोऽम्बुनिधौ चकोर-निकरे दुष्वच्छिदात्यन्तिको⁸ कङ्कारे हतमोहता⁹ रति-
- 5 पतावेकोहमेवेति धोः । यस्यामी अमृतात्मनः समुदयन्याशुप्रकाशज्जगत्-
- 6 त्रि¹⁰-ध्यानपरम्परापरिणतं¹¹ ज्योतिस्तदास्ताम्बुदे ॥¹² [2*] सेवाव नम्रनृपकोटि-किरो-
- 7 ट-रोचिरम्बुलसत्पद-नखद्युति-वल्लरोभिः । तेजोविष-ज्वर-मुषो हिषताम-
- 8 भूवन् भूमौभुजः स्फुटमथौषधिनाथ-वंशे ॥¹³ [3*] आ-कौमार-विक्रस्वरैर्हिशि दि-
- 9 शि प्रस्यन्दिभिर्हीर्यशः-प्रालेयै रिपुराज¹⁴-वक्त्रनलिन-स्नानोः समुम्बोलयन् । हे-
- 10 मन्तः स्फुटमेव¹⁵ सेन-जननक्षेत्रौघ-पुण्यावलीशालिश्लाघ्यविपाकपौवरगुणस्ते-

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 136 (l. 10).

² *Ind. Ant.*, 1910, pp. 195-96, 201, and 204.

³ Kielhorn, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 206 (ll. 21-22) and p. 208.

⁴ *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, 1896, Pt. I, p. 256 (l. 12) and p. 255 (l. 2 and l. 7).

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ Read *dukkha*. This form occurs also in Tarpanadighi plate, l. 4.

⁷ Cf. *hata-mohyatā* in Tarpanadighi plate, l. 4.

⁸ Maitra reads *Atter*.

⁹ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

¹⁰ Cf. *ari-rāja* in Tarpanadighi plate.

¹¹ The second *na* was omitted through inadvertence and added afterwards.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 215-16.

¹³ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

¹⁴ Maitra reads *s-tavā*.

¹⁵ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

- 11 षामभूहंशजः ॥¹ [4*] यदीयैरद्यापि प्रचितभुजतेजस्सहचरैर्यशोभिः शोभन्ते
 12 परिधि-परिणष्टा इव दिशः । ततः काञ्ची-लीला-चतुर-चतुरभोधिलहरो-परातोर्वी-
 13 भर्ताजनि विजयसेनः स विजयी ॥² [5*] प्रत्यूहः कलिसम्पदामनलसो वेदाय-
 नैकाध्वगः
 14 सङ्ग्रामः श्रित-जङ्गमाकृतिरभूदल्लालसेनस्ततः । यश्चेतोमयमेव शौर्यविजयी
 15 दत्तौषधं³ तत्क्षणादक्षीणा रचयाञ्चकार वशगाः स्वस्मिन् परिषां श्रियः ।⁴ [6*]
 सञ्भुक्ता-
 16 न्यदिगङ्गनागण-गुणाभोगप्रलोभाद्दिशामीशैरंश-समर्पणेन घटितस्तत्प्रभाव⁵-स्फु-
 17 टैः । दोरुषक्षपितारि-सङ्गररसो राजन्यधर्माश्रयः श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणसेन-भूपतिर-
 18 तः सौजन्यसीमाजनि ॥⁶ [7*] आम्नायः प्रणिनाय यानि मुनयो यान्यस्मरन्
 संस्तुतान्या-
 19 चोरेषु च यानि तानि ददिरे दानानि दैन्यद्रुहा । क्लीणश्चे च तथाप्यनेन नियमं का-
 20 लेषु संख्याततान्देयेष्वर्थिनमन्तरेण⁷ च फलाशंसां⁸ विधौ शृण्वता ॥⁹ [8*]
 समयमपि स-
 21 स्रुतं नुमस्तं तदसि-महीषधमुद्धभूव यत्र । भवति परपुरप्रवेश-सिद्धिः कर-वि-
 22 धृते सक्तदेव यस्य मूले ॥¹⁰ [9*] यान् सम्बन्ध्य जगत्तयो-वितरणे मित्रैर्व्वलिर्व्वारितो
 यैः स-
 23 ज्ञस्य न गङ्गया क्षणमपि स्वर्गापि¹¹ संस्मर्यते । तानुच्चरतिशायि-शालिवसुधाना-
 24 राम-रम्यान्तरान्विप्रेभ्योयमदत्त पत्तनगणान् भूमिपतिर्व्भूयसः ॥¹² [10*] स खलु
 श्रीवि-
 25 क्रमपुर-समावासितश्रीमज्जयस्कन्धावारात् । महाराजाधिराज-श्रीवल्लालसेन-
 26 देवपादानुध्यात-परमेश्वर परमवैष्णव-प(र)मभट्टारक-महाराजाधिराज-श्रीम
 27 ल्लक्ष्मणसेनदेवः कुशलो समुपगताशेषराज-राजन्यक-राज्ञी-राणक-राजपु-
 28 त्र-राजामात्य-पुरोहित-महाधर्माध्यक्ष-महासान्धिविग्रहिक-महासेनापति-

¹ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

² Read *dalte*.

³ The last few letters are very closely written.

⁴ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

⁵ Maitra reads *-śamsā*.

¹⁰ Metre : Pushpitāgrā.

⁷ Metre : Śikharinī.

⁸ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

⁹ Maitra reads *arḥi*.

¹¹ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

¹² The *r*-stroke is not clear.

¹³ Read *-bbhūyasaḥ*. Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

Reverse.

- 29 महासुद्राधिकृत-अन्तरङ्गहृदपरिक-महाक्षपटलिक-महाप्रतीहार-महा-
 30 भोगिक-महापीलुपति-महागणस्थ-दौस्माधिक-चौरोद्धरणिक-नौबल-ह
 31 स्थ-गोमहिषाजाविकादि-व्यापृतक-गौल्लिक-दण्डपाशिक-दण्डनायक-विष-
 32 यपत्यादीन् । अन्यांश्च-सकलगजपादोपजोविनोऽध्यक्षप्रचारोक्तानिहाकी-
 33 र्त्तितान् । चट्ट-भट्टजातीयान् जनपदान् । क्षेत्रकरांश्च ब्राह्मणान् ब्राह्मणोत्तरान् यथा-
 34 हं मानयति बोधयति समादिशति च । मतमस्तु भवतां । यथा श्रीपौण्ड्रवर्द्धन-
 भुक्त्यन्तः-
 35 पाति-व्याघ्रतय्याम् । पूर्वे अश्वत्यवृक्षः सीमा । दक्षिणे जलपित्ता सीमा ।
 पश्चिमे शा-
 36 न्तिगोपौशासनं सीमा । उत्तरे मालामञ्चवाटी सीमा । इत्थं चतुःसीमावच्छिन्नं
 वृषभश
 37 ङ्कर-नलेन¹ सकाकिनौक-सप्तविंशदुन्मानाधिकादावापान्वित-नवद्रोणोत्तर-भू-पाट-
 38 कैकात्मकं संवत्सरेण कपर्दक-पुराणशतैकोत्पत्तिकं माथरगिड्या-खगडचेवं
 स-भा-
 39 ट-विटपं सजलस्थलं सगर्तापरं सगुवाक-नारिकेलं सह्यदशापराधं परिहृत-सर्व-
 40 पीडं² अचट्ट-भट्ट-प्रवेशं³ अकिञ्चित्प्रग्राह्यं दण-पूति-गोचरपर्यन्तं विप्रदासदेव-
 41 शर्म्भणः प्रपौत्राय शङ्करदेवशर्म्भणः पौत्राय देवदासदेवशर्म्भणः पुत्राय कौ-
 42 शिक-सगोत्राय विश्वामित्र-बन्धुल-कौशिक-प्रवराय यजुर्वेद-काण्वशाखाध्यायि-
 43 ने पण्डित-श्रीरघुदेवशर्म्भणे पुण्येऽहनि विधिवदुदकपूर्वकं भगवन्तं श्रीमन्ना-
 44 रायण-भट्टारकमुद्दिश्य मातापितृोरात्मनश्च पुण्य-यशोऽभिवृद्धये उत्तुष्ट्य आ-
 45 चन्द्रार्कचित्समकालं यावत् भूमिच्छिद्र-न्यायेन ताम्रशासनीकृत्य प्रदत्तमस्मा-
 46 भिः । तद्भवद्भिः सर्वैरेवानुमन्तव्यं । भाविभिरपि नृपतिभिरपहरणे नर-
 47 क-पात-भयात् पालने धर्म-गौरवात् पालनीयम् । भवन्ति चात्र धर्मानुशं-
 48 सिनः श्लोकाः । भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति [10*] उभौ⁴तौ पुण्य-
 49 कर्माणौ नियतं स्वर्गं गामिनौ⁵ [11*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां म्वा⁶ यो हरेत व-

¹ Maithra reads *śaṅkura-nalena-sukūkinika* etc. The *e* stroke in *nalena* is quite clear. Compare the corresponding passages in the Nāibati (line 45) and the Tarpanadighi (line 36) copper-plates which have respectively *Samatāṅga-nalena*, *Viśhabhaśaṅkura-nalena* and *lotatāṅga-de śaṅkura-nalena*.

² Read *pīḍam*.

³ Read *praveśam*.

⁴ The letter *u* was first omitted through inadvertence and added afterwards.

⁵ Metro : Anuṣṭubh.

⁶ Read *dattān vā*.

- 50 सुम्भराम् । स विष्ठायां क्लमिभूत्वा पितृभिस्सह पच्यते ॥¹ [12*] आस्फोटयन्ति
 51 पितरो वलायन्ति पितामहाः । भूमिदाता कुले जातस्स नस्त्राता भवि-
 52 ष्यति ॥² [13*] इति कमलदलाम्बु-विन्दु-लोलां त्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्य-जीवितं च
 53 सकलमिदमुदाहृतं च बुद्धा³ न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्त्तयो विलो-
 54 प्याः ॥⁴ [14*] श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणासेनो नारायणदत्त-साम्भिविशिष्टकम् ।
 55 रघुदेवशासनेऽकृत द्रुतं भूमण्डलीबलभित् ॥^{4a} [15*]
 56 सं ३ भाद्र-दिने ६ महासां नि ॥ श्री नि⁵ ॥

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1). Om. Om. Adoration to Nārāyaṇa.

(Verse 1). May that cloud, namely, the matted hair of Śambhu⁶, which removes the heat of suffering of (*this*) existence, having the flash of the jewel of the lord of serpents as its lightning, the crescent-moon (*on the fore-head of the god*) as its bow of Indra, the Heavenly River as its water, the string of white skulls as its line of cranes—and which contains within itself the air controlled by meditation, lead to the growth of the sprout of your (*tree of*) welfare.

(Verse 2).⁷ May the light, (*which is*) born of the continuous meditation of Atri⁸, be to (*your*) rejoicing—the light of the nectar-bodied one, at whose appearance in this world there spring up forthwith joy on the sea, feeling of absolute safety in *chakora* birds, absence of stupour in lilies and the god of Love realises that he is non-pareil.

(Verse 3). In that line of the Lord of Plants⁹ there flourished kings who cured their enemies of the fever arising out of power-poison by means of (*medicinal*) creepers¹⁰, which were (nothing but) the splendour of the nails of their feet nurtured (*as it were*) by water which was again the brilliance of the crowns of krores of kings bent low in allegiance (*to them*).

(Verse 4). There sprang up Hemantasena, a member of that family, the

Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

Read *buddhvā*.

^{4a} Metre : Āryā.

² Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

⁴ Metre : Pushpītāgrā.

After *ni* in every case there is blank space left showing evidently that some letters or words are understood.

⁶ Cf. similar passages regarding Śiva's head and matted hair in *Saduktikarṇāmrīta* (*Bib. Ind.*), pp. 13-14 and 17-18. The comparison of Śiva's head to the cloud is wellknown. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 14, v. 4.

⁷ Cf. *Nāthātī* grant of Vallālasena, v. 2 for a description of the moon.

⁸ Moon was born from the light of the eyes of Atri. Cf. *Belava* copper-plate of Bhojavarman, v. 1.

⁹ *I. E. Moon*.

¹⁰ There is evidently a pun on the word *oshadhi*; thus the Sena kings are compared to successful physicians who by administering medicinal creepers can cure a patient attacked by poisonous fever. Here the poison is power.

[illegible]

ਸੰਤਕਾਵੁਤਿਨੰਦ, ਸਾਨਸਾਇ ੫ ਗੁਰਿ ੫

frost-like fame of whose arms, expanding since his youth and flowing into every direction, turned pale the lotus-like faces of his adversaries; and 'Hemanta' indeed was he, for in him the virtues of the Sena family reached an admirable culmination, just as in the Autumn (*Hemanta*) the rice crops in the the fields¹ attain maturity.

(Verse 5). His renown, associated with the strength of his mighty arms, adorns even to-day all the quarters and envelops the horizon. From him was born the victorious **Vijayasena**, the husband of the Earth (-lady) who, being encircled by the waves of the four oceans, looked charming on account of the play of her zone.

(Verse 6). From him was born **Vallālasena**, the active enemy of Kali's fortune and a follower of that unique path, viz. of the Vedas. He had the appearance of a moving incarnation of war and triumphant in his valour he could immediately bring unto control the undiminished Fortune-goddesses of his enemies simply by administering mental drug.²

(Verse 7). Next was born the illustrious king **Lakshmanasena**, the standard of gentlemanliness, in the heat of whose arms dried up the warlike spirit of his enemies. In him resided all the virtues of kingship, as the lords of the quarters manifesting their distinctive powers, brought him into being by contributing parts of their own, impelled by a desire that they would now be able to enjoy the charms of (each one of) the Nymphs of the Quarters³

(Verse 8). But inspite of his being so gentle in nature he was an enemy of poverty. Having listened to (*from scriptures*) the principles regarding the bestowal of gifts and (*proper*) recipients (*thereof*), which had become extensive in number in course of ages, and also about the expectation of fruits in this matter (*i. e.* gift), he distributed such gifts as the sacred lore prescribed, sages enjoined and were praised in current practice.

(Verse 9). We admire that virile season in which sprang up the great medicinal herb, namely, his sword. The moment it is grasped at the root, it is sure to prove efficacious in entering the cities of foes.

(Verse 10). That king gave away to Brāhmaṇas myriads of excellent villages, consisting of land excessively growing paddy and beautifully

¹ Here there is a pun on *Hemanta*, *kṣātra* and *śālī*.

² *I. E.* only by thinking, so that his success was dependant only on an effort of the mind. He had not to make any physical effort.

³ As the king is constituted of the portions of the Eight *Dikpālas*, Indra, Varuṇa and others (Cf. *Manu*, VII, verses 4-7) and as he is the ruler of the Eight Quarters these *Dikpālas* are able to enjoy the Nymphs of all the quarters through him. This idea is expressed in an extremely round about manner in the above verse.

interspersed with gardens. Even Bali was dissuaded by his friends from parting with these, when he was distributing the three worlds. Coming in contact with these villages even the river Ganges did not care to think of Heaven for a moment.

(Lines 24-34) : Now, from the victorious camp established at **Vikramapura**, the *Parameśvara*, the devout worshipper of Vishnu, the *Paramabhattachāraka*, the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Lakshmaṇasenadeva**, meditating on the feet of the *Mahārājādhirāja* **Vallālasenadeva**, being in good health, duly honours, informs and orders those that have assembled, viz., all the *Rājans*, *Rājanyas*, *Rājanyakas*, the queen (*rājñī*), *Rāṇakas*, *Rājaputras*, the prime-minster (*rājāmātya*), the priest (*purohita*), *Mahādharmmadhyaksha*, *Mahāsāndhivigrahika*, *Mahāsenāpati*, *Mahāmudrādhikṛita*, *Antaraṅgabṛihaduparika*, *Mahākshapaṭalika*, *Mahāpratihāra*, *Mahābhogika*, *Mahāpīlupati*, *Mahāgaṇastha*, *Daussādhika*, *Chauroddharanika*, officers engaged on fleet, army, elephants, horses, cows, buffaloes, goats, sheep etc., the *Gaulmika*, *Daṇḍapāśika*, *Daṇḍanāyaka*, *Vishayapatis* and all other servants of the king mentioned in the list of *adhyakshas* but not specified here, people of the class of *Chattas* and *Bhattas*, peasants, the Brāhmaṇas, and the best among Brāhmaṇas :

(Lines 34-46) : Be it approved by you that a plot of land (of the village of) Mātharaṇḍiyā within **Vyāghrataṭī**, which is situated in the **Paundravarddhana-bhukti**, having for its four boundaries as follows, viz., the banyan tree as its boundary on the east, Jalapillā as its boundary on the south, Śāntigōpī-śāsana as its boundary on the west and Mālāmañcha-vāṭī as its boundary on the north—which measures 1 *pātaka*, 9 *dronas*, 1 *ādhāvāpu*, 37 *unmānas* and 1 *kākinikā* and yields per year 100 *kaparddaka-purāṇas*, is given by Us, to last as long as the sun, moon and the earth endure, by a copper-plate, according to the principle of *Bhūmichchhidra*, along with forest and branches, land and water, pits and barren tracts, betelnut and cocoanut trees, with toleration of the Ten Sins, exempt from all oppression, not to be entered by *Chattas* and *Bhattas*, free from all sorts of dues, along with grass, *pūti* plant and pasture-grounds, to the *Paṇḍita*, the illustrious Raghudevaśarman, son of Devadāsa-devaśarman and grandson of Vipradāsadevaśarman, of the Kauśika *gotra*, and Viśvāmitra. Bandhula and Kuśika *pravaras*, a student of the Kāṇva *śākhā* of the Yajurveda. —on this auspicious day after having duly touched water, in the name of Lord Nārāyaṇa, for the increase of merit and fame of myself and my parents.

(Lines 46-48) : Therefore you should all give your assent to it. It should be protected by future kings also considering that its taking away entails the

fear of falling to hell and its protection, great virtue. There are also verses in this matter, enjoining Dharma :

[Here follow three of the customary verses already translated on p. 79 : vv. 16, 19 and 17].

(Verse 15) The illustrious **Lakshmaṇasena**, who can repulse the forces of the whole world, made the Sāndhivigrahika Nārāyaṇadatta, *Dūta* of the grant of Raghudeva.

(Line 56) **The year 3, the 9th day of Bhādra.** Approved by the Mahāsān(dhivigrahika). Approved by the illustrious (king).

IX. GOVINDAPUR COPPER-PLATE OF LAKSHMANASENA.

This copper-plate was discovered about ten years ago in the excavation of a tank in the village of **Govindapur**, in the district of 24 Parganas, near the Bāruipur station of the Diamond Harbour Branch of the E. B. Railway. Soon after its discovery it was sent to Pandit Amūlya Charan Vidyābhūṣaṇa, who exhibited it in a meeting of the Vaṅgīya-Sāhitya-Parishat of Calcutta. In 1923 the record was noticed by Mr. R. D. Banerji in his *Bāṅglar Itihās* (second edition), pp. 327 & 335. Pandit Vidyābhūṣaṇa has recently published his transcript and translation in the Bengali Journal *Bhāratavarsha*, 1332 B. S., pp. 441-45 and plates. I have never had an opportunity of examining the original copper-plate, but the learned Pandit very kindly placed at my disposal some time ago two photographs of the record on which the present edition is based. The principal points of difference between his text and mine have been indicated in the footnotes.

This is a **single plate** measuring according to Pandit Vidyābhūṣaṇa $13\frac{1}{2}''$ by $12\frac{1}{2}''$. It bears a seal, containing a finely preserved representation of Sadāśiva, attached to the top. The writing which also seems to be very well-preserved consists of 53 lines, of which twenty-six are engraved on the obverse and twenty-seven on the reverse. The engraver having come to the end of line 46 evidently realised that the available space on the plate would not be sufficient for the concluding portion of the text unless the size of the letters were reduced. Hence from line 47 onwards he has engraved the letters in a comparatively small size.

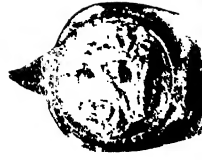
The **characters** belong to a variety of Northern alphabets which may be called the precursors of modern Bengali, and were current in Bengal in the twelfth century A. D. The old sign of the initial *i* consisting of two dots and an upright stroke is totally absent in this inscription and there is instead the proto-Bengali form of the letter in every case. The sign of the initial *au*, which corresponds exactly to the modern Bengali sign, occurs in *Aureva*, in l. 43. Other noteworthy forms are those of the conjunct *jj*, e. g. in *-jjayaskandhāvārāt*, in l. 22, *jñ*, e. g. in *rājñī*, in l. 26 and *ñgh* in *Leṅghadera*, in l. 25.

The **language** is Sanskrit. With the exception of the introductory *om om namah Śivāya* the text almost upto the end of line 21, and from about the middle of line 49 to about the end of line 53, is in verse. The rest is in prose. The **verses** which are eleven in number are composed in a variety of metres,

Scale 0. 3.

Reverse

Obverse



27

30

35

40

45

50

5

10

15

20

25

viz. *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*, *Vasantatilakā*, *Sikhariṇī*, *Anuṣṭubh*, *Pushpitāgrā* and *Āryā*. In several places words within a compound have not been joined by rules of euphony, e. g. *pañchadaśa-purāṇa-atpatti-niyame*, in line 38. Other grammatical irregularities like the retention of inflexional forms in a compound, e. g. in *Gosvāmīdevaśarmmaṇaḥ* (ll. 41-42) have been pointed out in their proper places. These are undoubtedly due to the influence of the Vernacular. Lexicographically such words as *khāṭikā* (l. 34) and *ḍālīm̐ba* (l. 35) are interesting. The word *khāṭikā* ('ditch' or 'canal') is here used most probably as part of a proper name (*Pāśchimakhāṭikā*, 'the western ditch'). It is used again in l. 43 of the Khālimpur copper-plate¹ and probably as *khāḍī* in l. 35 of the Tarpaṇadīghī plate and as *khāta* in the Sundarban plate. The word *ḍālīm̐ba* ('pomegranate') corresponds to modern Bengali *ḍālīm* of which another Sanskritized form *dāḍīm̐ba* occurs in line 21 of the Deopārā inscription.

In respect of **orthography** the following points should be noted : both the letters *b* and *v* are denoted by the same sign ; the letter following a superscript *r* is generally doubled ; the *avagraha* sign is used in three out of six cases, while in *anyāṁścha* (l. 30) it wrongly takes the place of *a* ; and the *r*-stroke in many cases is dropped. The word *duḥkha* is written as *dashkha* in l. 4.² The engraver has misread his draft in a good many cases, one of the most glaring instances being *vikamārakasvarai* for *vikasvaraiḥ*, in line 9.

The inscription is one of the *Parameśvara*, *Paramanārasimha*³, *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Lakshmanasenadeva**, 'who meditated on the feet of the *Parameśvara*. *Paramaraishvara*, *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Vallālasenadeva**, and opens exactly as the Tarpaṇadīghī, Ānuliā and Sundarban copper-plates (see below). The genealogy is described in seven verses which are the same, and occur in the same order, as in those three copper-plates. After the seventh verse the Tarpaṇadīghī has one and the Ānuliā three additional verses, none of which is found in the present record and the Sundarban copper-plate. The document was issued from 'the camp of victory' situated at **Vikramapura** (lines 21-22). After the customary list of officers and other persons connected with this grant (ll. 25-32) it is stated that the village granted was **Viddāraśāsana**, of which the boundaries are given (see translation). It consisted of 60 *droṇas* and 17 *amānas* of land measured according to the Nala standard of 56 cubits,

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 249.

² This spelling occurs also in other Sena copper-plates, e. g. Ānuliā and Tarpaṇadīghī.

³ This title is used by Lakshmanasena also in his *Mādhānagar* and Sundarban copper-plates.

prevalent in the locality and yielding an annual income of 900 *purāṇas* at the rate of 15 *purāṇas* to the *droṇa*. The village was situated in **Betaḍḍachaturaka**, in **Paśchimakhāṭikā** in **Vardhamāna-bhukti** (ll. 33-39). The donee was the *upādhyāya* Vyāsadevaśarman, son of Śrīnivāsadevaśarman, grandson of Chahaladevaśarman and great grandson of Gosvāmidevaśarman, belonging to the Vātsya *gotra*, Vatsya, Chyavana, Āpnuvat, Aurvva, and Jāmadagnya *pravaras* and a follower of the *charaṇas* of the Kauthuma *sākhā* of the Sāmaveda (ll. 41-45). The grant was made on the occasion of the coronation ceremony (of king Lakshmaṇasena) (l. 46). The *Sāndhivigrahika* Nārāyaṇa-datta acted as the *dūta* of this grant. The date is the **regnal year 2** (ll. 52-53). Unlike other Sena copper-plates the present one has no official endorsement at the end.

Vardhamānabhukti, which is also mentioned in the Naihātī copper-plate, seems to have extended at least as far as the western bank of the Ganges near Calcutta. Betaḍḍa-chaturaka in which the village Viḍḍāraśāsana was situated, having the Ganges as its eastern boundary, is identifiable with modern Betaḍ in Howrah district.¹ It would be interesting to enquire whether near Betaḍ there is at present any place answering to 'Dharmanagara', which is given as one of the boundaries of Viḍḍāraśāsana.)

TEXT.

Obverse.

- 1 ॐ² ॐ नमो नारायणाय ॥ विद्युद्यत्र मणियुतिः फणिपतेर्वाल्लिन्दुरिन्द्राय-
- 2 -धं वारि स्वर्ग-तरङ्गिणी मित-(सि)शिरोमाला वलाकावलिः । ध्यानाभ्यास-
- 3 समीरणोपनिहितः श्रेयोङ्गुरोद्धृतये भूयादः स भवार्ति-ताप-भिदु-
- 4 -रः शम्भोः कप[र्द्दी]म्बुदः³ ॥⁴ [1 *] आनन्दोम्बुनिधौ चकोरनिकरे दुष्वच्छिदात्य-
- 5 न्तिकी⁵ कङ्कारे हतमोहता रतिपतावेकोहमेवेति धीः । यस्यामी अभृता-
- 6 त्मनः समुदयन्याशुप्रकाशाज्जगत्त्रिध्यान-परम्परापरिणतं⁶ ज्योतिस्तदास्तां सु-
- 7 -दे ॥⁷ [2 *] सेवावनम्र-नृपकोटि-किरोटरोचिरम्बुलसत्पदनखद्युति-वल्लरोभिः [1*]
- 8 तेजोविषज्वरमुषो दिषतामभूवन्⁸ भूमीभुजः स्फुटमथौषधि-नाथवं

¹ Banerji, *Bānglār Itihās* (second edition), p. 335.

² The r- stroke is not clear.

³ Read *dukkha*.

⁴ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

⁷ V. (= Vidyābhūṣaṇa) reads *tyante dhyāna*.

⁸ The *sh* in *dvishatām* is written without its middle stroke, like *ya*.

- 9 श्रे ॥¹ [3 *] आकौमार-विकमारकस्वरै² दिशि³ दिशि प्रस्यन्दिभि⁴ दोयंशःप्राले-
 10 -यै रिपुराजवक्त्रनलिनम्लानोः समुन्मीलयन् [१ *] हेमन्तः स्फुटमेव श्रेनज-⁵
 11 -ननक्षेत्रस्य पुण्यावलीशालेयावलिपाक⁶-पीवरगुणस्तेषां मभूदंश-
 12 -यः (जः) ॥⁷ [4 *] यदीयैरद्यापि प्रचित-भुजतेजःसहचरै यशोभिः⁸ शोभ-
 13 न्ते परिधिपरिणद्धा इव दिशः । ततः काञ्ची-लौला-चतुर-चतुरम्भो-
 14 धि-लहरीपरीतो[व्री]-भ[र्त्ता]जनि⁹ विजयसेनः स विजयी ॥¹⁰ [5 *]
 प्रत्यु
 15 -हः कलिसम्पदामनलसो वेदायनैकाध्वगः सङ्ग्रामः श्रितज-
 16 ङ्गमाकृतिरभूदलालसेनस्ततः । यद्येतोमयमेव शौर्यंवि-
 17 जयी दत्तौषधं¹¹ तत्क्षणादक्षीणा रचयाञ्चकार वशगाः स्व-
 18 स्मिन् परेषां श्रियः ॥¹² [6 *] संभुक्तान्यदिगङ्गनागणगुणाभो-
 19 -गप्रलोभाद्दिशामीशैरंश-शमर्पणेन¹³ घटितस्तत्तत्प्रभाव-
 20 स्फुटैः । दोरुष-क्षयितारिसङ्गर-रसो¹⁴ राजन्यधर्माश्रयः
 21 श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणसेन-भूपतिरतः । सौजन्यसीमाजनि ॥¹⁵ [7 *] स खलु¹⁶ वि-
 22 क्रमपुरसमावासित-श्रीमज्जयस्कन्धावारात् परमेश्वरपरमवै-
 23 णव-परमभट्टारक-महाराज(र)धिराज¹⁷-श्रीवल्लालसेनदेवपादानुध्या-
 24 तपरमेश्वर-परमनारसिंह¹⁸-परमभट्टारक-महाराजाधिराज-श्री-
 25 मल्लक्ष्मणसेनदेव(ः) कुशली । समुपगताशेष-राजराजन्यक-रा-
 26 क्षी-राणक-राजपुत्र-राजामात्य-महापुरोहित¹⁹- महाधर्माध्यक्ष-

¹ Metre : Vasantatilakā.

² Cf. Ānuliā and Tarpanadighi plates and read *vikas-caraiḥ*.

³ Read *r-diṣi*.

⁴ Read *r-dor-yaśah*.

⁵ Read *Senā*.

⁶ Here the engraver has made a mess. The correct reading is *kshetr-arṇha-puṇyāvali-kāli-lāghya*.

⁷ *śipka*-etc. as in the Ānuliā and Tarpanadighi plates.

Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita. Read *teshām-abhūd*.

⁸ Read *r-yaśobhik*.

⁹ Metre : Śikharinī.

The *r*-stroke does not occur.

¹⁰ Read *datto*.

¹¹ The word *kshapita* occurs in Ānuliā and Tarpanadighi plates.

¹² Read *samarppaṇa*.

¹³ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

¹⁴ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita. The sign of interpunction before *saṅjanya* is meaningless.

¹⁵ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita. The sign of interpunction before *saṅjanya* is meaningless.

¹⁶ The word *śrī* is prefixed to *Vikrama-pura* in Ānuliā and Tarpanadighi plates.

¹⁷ Of these titles only *mahārājādhirāja* is prefixed to the name of Vallālasena in Ānuliā and Tarpanadighi plates.

¹⁸ Instead of it the Ānuliā and Tarpanadighi plates have *Paramavaishṇava*.

¹⁹ Ānuliā and Tarpanadighi plates mention *purōhita* instead of *mahāpurōhita*.

Reverse.

- 27 महासाम्बिषयहिक-महासेनापति-महासुद्राधिकृत-अन्तरङ्ग-बृहदुपरि-
 28 क-महाक्षपटलिक-महाप्रतीहार-महाभोगिक महापीलुपति-महागण-
 29 स्थ-दौःसाधिक-चौरोद्धरणिक-नीबलहस्त्यश्व-गोमहिषाजाविकादि-व्यापृत-
 30 क-गौत्तिक-दण्डपाशिक-दण्डनायक-विषयपत्यादीन्¹न्या²सकल-राज-
 31 पादोपजीविनोध्यक्षप्रचारोक्तानिहाकीर्तितान् चट्ट-भट्ट-जातीया-
 32 न् जनपदान् । क्षेत्रकरान् ब्राह्मणान् ब्राह्मणोत्तरान् यथाहं मानयति
 33 बोधयति समादिशति च मतमस्तु भवताम् । यथा श्री-वर्द्धमानभक्त्यन्तःपा-
 34 ति-पश्चिमखाटिकायां³ वेतङ्ग-चतुरके^{3a} पूर्वे जाङ्गवी [स]वन्ती³अर्द्धसीमा । द-
 35 क्षिणे लेङ्घदेवमण्डपी-सीमा⁴ । पश्चिमे डालिम्बक्षेत्रसीमा । उत्त-
 36 -रे धर्मनगर-सीमा । इत्थं चतुःसीमावच्छिन्नो तद्देशीय-संख्यवहा-
 37 -र-षट्पञ्चाशत्तहस्तपरिमितनलेन⁵ सप्तदशउ(शो)न्मानाधिक-षष्ठि-भू-
 38 द्रोणात्मकः प्रतिद्रोणे⁶ पञ्चदश-पुराण-उ(णो)त्पत्ति-नियमे वत्सरेण नवश-
 39 तोत्पत्तिकः विडुारशासनः सभाटविटपः सजलस्थलः सग[र्तो]षरः⁷
 40 सगुवाक-नारिकेलः सस्यदशापराधः परिहृतसर्वपोडो⁸ अ-
 41 चट्ट-भट्ट-प्रवेशोऽकिञ्चित्पयाह्यस्त्रुण-पूति-गोचरपर्यन्तः⁹ गोस्वा-
 42 मी(मि)देवशर्माणः प्रपौत्राय । चहलदेवशर्माण¹⁰ पौत्राय । [श्रु]निवासदेव¹¹
 43 शर्माणः पुत्राय वात्स्यसगोत्राय वात्स्य-च्यावन-आप्तवान-ओर्व्व-जामदग्न्य-प्रव-
 44 राय सामवेदकौथूम-शाखाचरणानुष्ठायिने उपाध्याय-श्रीव्यासदेवश-
 45 र्माणे पुण्यऽहनि विधिवदुदकपू [र्व्व]क¹² भगवन्तं श्रीमन्नारायणभट्टारकमुद्दिश्य मा-
 46 तापितोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोऽभिवृद्धये राज्याभिषेकसमये उ(त्)संगितत्वात्¹³ आचन्दा-
 47 कंचितिसमकालं यावद्भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन ताम्रशासनोक्त्य प्रदत्तोऽस्माभिः । तद्भवद्भिः
 स [र्व्व]रे¹⁴

¹ The *avagraha* is wrongly used. Read *anyānis-cha*.

² V. reads *vāṭikāyām*.

^{3a} V. reads *Vatudda*. Banerji reads *Vetudda* and *chaturashka*.

³ The first letter was either partly engraved or oxydised away : I restore it as *sra*. The word is omitted in V's text.

⁴ V. reads *Leghaṭeva*.

⁵ Read *-pañchāśat*. V. reads *suryavahāra*.

⁶ V. reads *dronamekah pratidrona* etc. The conjunct *tm* is written like *me*.

⁹ V. reads *plata*.

⁷ The *r*-stroke does not occur.

⁸ The letter *a* is superfluous.

¹⁰ V. reads the name as *Haladeva* and treats the preceding *cha* as a particle. But here *cha* as a particle is unusual. I therefore read the name as *Chahala*.

¹¹ V. reads *śrī*.

¹² The *r*-stroke does not occur.

¹³ The *r*-stroke does not seem to occur.

¹⁴ The *r*-stroke does not occur.

- 48 वानुमनन्त(मन्त)व्यं भाविभिरपि नृपतिभिरपहरणे नरकपातभयात्पालने धर्मगौरवात्-
पालनी-
- 49 यं भवन्ति चात्र धर्मानुशंसिनः श्लोकाः । भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति
उभौ तौ पुण्य-
- 50 कर्माणो नियतं ²स्व[र्ग]गामिनौ ॥³ [8 *] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत् वसुधरां
स विद्यायां कृमिर्भुत्वा पि-
- 51 तृभिः सह पच्यते ॥⁴[9 *] इति⁵ कमलदलाम्बुविन्दुलोलां शियमनुचिन्त्य⁶ मनुष्य-
जीवितञ्च सकलमिदमुदा-
- 52 हृतञ्च बुद्धा⁷ नहि पुरुषैः परकीर्त्तियो⁸ विलोप्याः ॥⁹ [10 *] श्रीमल्लज्मणसेन-¹⁰
लीलीन्द्रः सान्निवियहि-
- 53 कं नारायणदत्तमकरोत् व्यासशासने दूतं¹¹ ॥¹² [11 *] सम्बत् २¹³

TRANSLATION.

[For verses 1-7 see above pp. 87-88]

(Lines 21-25 and 33) : Now, from the camp of victory situated at **Vikramapura**, the *Parameśvara*, the devout worshipper of (Vishṇu in his) **Narasimha** (incarnation), the *Paramahatthāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Lakshmaṇasena**, who meditated on the feet of the *Parameśvara*, the devout worshipper of Vishṇu, the *Paramahatthāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* **Vallālasena**, being in good health, duly informs :

(Lines 33-47) : That (the village) **Viḍḍāraśāsana**, in **Vetaḍḍa-chaturaka** in **Pāśchimakhāṭikā**, belonging to **Vardhamānabhukti**, having for its four boundaries as follows : To the east, the river Ganges, half boundary : to the south, the temple (*maṇḍapa*) of Leṅghadeva, another boundary : to the west, the orchard of pomegranates, another boundary : to the north, **Dharmanagara**, another boundary,---measuring 60 *bhū-droṇas* and 17 *umṇānas*, according to the standard of *Nala* consisting of 56 cubits, prevalent in that region, and yielding annually 900 *purāṇas*, at the rate of 15 *purāṇas* to the *drona*, along with forest and branches, land and water, pits and barren land,

¹ Read *bhūmīm*.

² Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

³ V. reads *kaṭi*.

⁴ Read *buddhā*.

⁵ Metre : Pushpitāgā.

⁶ *Seni* seems to have been first engraved of which the *i* stroke is deleted.
Read *dūtam*.

⁷ The *r* stroke does not seem to occur.

⁸ Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

⁹ Read *śrīgṇu*.

¹⁰ The *r* stroke does not occur.

¹¹ Metre : Āryā.

¹² V. reads the number as 3.

betelnut and cocoanut trees, toleration of Ten Sins, exempt from all forced labour, not to be entered by Chaṭṭas and Bhaṭṭas, exempt from all dues, as well as with grass, *pūti* plant and grazing land, is given away by Us by a copper-plate—being originally granted on the occasion of the Coronation—on this auspicious day, after duly touching water and in the name of the illustrious lord Nārāyaṇa, for the merit and fame of my parents as well as myself, for as long as the moon, sun and the earth endure, according to the *Bhūmicchhidraṇyāya*, to the *upādhyāya* Vyāsadevaśarmman, son of Śrīnivāsadevaśarmman, grandson of Chahaladevaśarmman, great-grandson Gosvāmidevaśarmman, of the Vātsya *gotra*, Vātsya, Chyāvana, Āpnuvat, Aurva and Jāmadagnya *pravaras* and a follower of the *charaṇas* of the Kauthuma *sākhā* of the Sāmaveda.

[Here follow three of the customary verses for which see translation on p. 9 : vv. 9, 11, 13].

(Verse 11). In the grant of Vyāsa, the illustrious king **Lakshmaṇasena** made the minister of Peace and War, Nārāyaṇadatta, his 'messenger' (*dūta*).

(Line 53). **The year 2.**

✓¹ 'Chaturaka' is part of a *bhukti*. It is mentioned in the newly discovered copperplate of Viśvarūpasena and the Sundarban copperplate.

X. TARPANADIGHI COPPER-PLATE OF LAKSHMANASENA.

This copper-plate was found in course of re-excavating an old tank during the scarcity of 1873-74, to the north of **Tarpanadīghi**, Tarpandighi or Tapandighi, which is the largest tank in the district of Dinajpur, about 6 miles to the south of Gangarampur Police station in the Balurghat sub-division. A preliminary account of the plate along with a tentative reading and translation was published by E.V. Westmacott in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XLIV (1875), part 1, pp. 11 ff. and lithographs. Under circumstances, which are not recorded, the plate after its discovery came into the possession of Sir William Le Fleming Robinson, Bart., of Gloucestershire, England, whose nephew Sir Ernest Robinson brought it to Calcutta and sold it to the Vaṅgiya-Sāhitya-Parishat. It was later on edited by Mr. R. D. Banerji, first in the *Journal of the Parishat*, Vol. XVII, pp. 135 ff. and plates, and then in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XII, pp. 6 ff. and plates.

This is a **single plate** measuring $13\frac{1}{2}$ "by $11\frac{1}{2}$ ". It bears a seal, containing representation of Sadāśiva, attached to the top. The writing is neatly and beautifully done and consists of 56 lines, of which twenty-six are engraved on the obverse and thirty on reverse. The size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{4}$ ".

The **characters** belong to a variety of the Northern alphabets which may be called the precursors of modern Bengali, as current in North-eastern India in the 12th century A.D. The **language** is Sanskrit. With the exception of the introductory formula *om om namo Nārāyaṇāya* the text upto about the end of line 22, and again from about the middle of line 50 to about the middle of line 56, is in verse. The rest is in prose. The verses, which are eight in number, are composed in a variety of metres, viz. Śārdūlavikrīḍita, Vasantatilakā, Śikharinī, Anuṣṭubh, Puṣpitāgrā and Āryā.

In respect of **orthography** the following points should be noted : both the letters *b* and *v* are denoted by the same sign ; a letter following a superscript *r* is occasionally doubled ; and the *avagraha* sign is used in six out of thirteen cases. The word *duḥkha* is written as *dushkha*, in l. 4 as in the Ānuliā and Govindapur copper-plates. The letter *v* is twice wrongly doubled, in *d=ccimukta*, in line 20, and *samvatsareṇa*, in l. 37. The rules of euphony are not observed in several instances, e.g. *Bhārdvāja-Āṅgīrasa*, in l. 42. In

several instances the engraver has not been able to follow his draft. These have been pointed out in the foot-notes to the text.

(The inscription is one of the *Parameśvara*, *Paramavaishṇava*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Lakshmaṇasena**, 'who meditated on the feet of' the illustrious *Mahārājādhirāja* **Vallālasena**. The record opens exactly as the Ānuliā and Govindapur copper-plates. The first seven stanzas are common to, and occur in the same order as in, those two plates, but the eighth verse is a new one, which does not occur elsewhere. The document was issued from 'the camp of victory' situated at **Vikramapura** (ll. 22-23). The customary list of officers and other persons interested in the grant is given in ll. 25-32. The village granted was **Belahisṭī** consisting of 120 *āḍhārāpas* and 5 *unmānas* of land according to the particular Nala standard prevalent in that locality, and yielding an annual profit of 150 *kaparddaka-parāpas*. The village was situated in **Varendrī** within **Paṇḍravarddhana bhukti** (ll. 33-38). The donee was **Īśvara-devaśarmman**, son of **Lakshmīdharadevaśarmman**, grandson of **Mārkaṇḍeyadevaśarmman** and great-grandson of **Hutāśanadevaśarmman**. He belonged to the *Bharadvāja gotra*, *Bhāradvāja*, *Āṅgīrasa* and *Bārhaspatya pravaras* and was a follower of the *charaṇas* of the *Kaṭhuma śākhā* of the *Sāmaveda* (ll. 43-44). The grant was made as a fee (*dukṣiṇā*) to the donee on account of his service as *Āchārya* in the *Hemāśvarathamahādāna*¹ (ll. 43-46). The customary verses are found in ll. 50-55. This is followed by the name of the *Sāṇdhivigrahika* **Nārāyaṇadatta**, who acted as 'the messenger' (*dūta*) in respect of this grant (ll. 55-56). The date is the **year 2, the 28th day of Bhādra**. The document is concluded by the well-known abbreviated form of endorsement (l. 56).

There is nothing in the record that is of any special interest excepting perhaps the reference to a Buddhist *vihāra* (*Buddhavihārī*) in l. 33, which proves that Buddhism lingered on in North Bengal at least down to the 12th century A.D.

The village mentioned in the copper-plate has not yet been identified. In the word *Mollāṇakhāḍī*, one of the boundaries of the village granted, Mr. Banerji recognises 'the Arabic word *mullah*,² which I think is rather fanciful. The ī-kāra ending of 'Varendrī', denoting North Bengal, is supported by Purushottama's *Bhāṣāṇṛiti*, ll. 4. 7 (*Varendrī-Māgadham*).)

¹ The *Hemāśvaratha-mahādāna* is one of 'the sixteen great gifts', which consists of giving away a golden chariot with seven or four golden horses. It is described in *Matsya-purāṇa*, Ch. 281, verses 1-16.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 8, n.2. Cf. S.K. Chatterji, *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, Part I, p. 187.

TEXT.

Obverse.

- 1 ॐ¹ नमो नारायणाय ॥ ²विद्युत्त मणियुतिः फणिपतेर्व्यालेन्दुरिन्द्रायुधं वा-
 2 रि स्वर्गतरङ्गिणी सितशिरोमाला वलाकावलिः । ध्यानाभ्याससमोरणोपनिहितः
 3 श्रेयोऽङ्कुरोद्धृतये भूयादः स भवार्चितापभिदुरः शम्भोः कपर्दीम्बुदः ॥ [1*] ³आ-
 4 नन्दोम्बुनिधौ चकोरनिकरे दुष्वच्छिदात्यन्तिकी⁴ कङ्कारे हतमोह्यता
 5 रतिपतावेकोऽहमेवेति धीः । यस्यामी अमृतात्मनः समुदयन्याशु प्रका-
 6 शाज्जगत्त्रिध्यानपरम्परापरिणतं⁵ ज्योतिस्तदास्ताम्बुदे ॥ [2*] ⁶सेवावन-
 7 म्नृपकोटिकिरीटरोचिरम्बु (म्बू)लसत्पदनखद्युतिवल(ल)रोभिः । तेजो-
 8 विषज्वरमुषो द्विषतामभूवन् भूमीभुजः स्फुटमथोषधिनाथवं-
 9 श्रे ॥ [3*] ⁷आकौमारविकस्वरैर्दिशि दिशि प्रस्थन्दिभिर्द्वयैः प्रालेयैररिरा-
 10 जवक्कनलिनम्बानीः समुन्मीलयन् [1*] हेमन्तः ⁸स्फुटमेय(व) सेनजननचेत्वी-
 11 घपुण्यावलोगालिश्लाघ्यविपाकपोवरगुणस्तेषामभूदंगजः[1*] [4*] ⁹यदीयैर-
 12 द्यापि प्रचितभुजतेजःसहचरैर्यशोभिः शोभन्ते परिधिपरि-
 13 णञ्चा इव दिशः । ततः काञ्चीलीलाचतुरचतुरम्भोधिहरीपरीतोर्वी-
 14 भर्ताजनि विजयसेनः स विजयी ॥ [5*] ¹⁰प्रत्यृहः कलिसम्पदामनलसो वेदा-
 15 यनैकाध्वगः सङ्ग्रामः श्रितजङ्गमाकृतिरभूदलालसेनस्ततः । यथेतोम-
 16 यमेव शौर्यविजयी दत्तौषधं¹¹ तत्क्षणादक्षीणा रचयाञ्चकार वशगाः
 17 स्वस्मिन् परेषां श्रियः ॥ [6*] ¹²संभुक्तान्यदिगङ्गनागणगुणाभोगप्रलोभाद्दिशा-
 18 मीशैरंशसमर्पणेन घटितस्तत्तत्प्रभावस्फुटैः । दोरुष्पक्षपि-
 19 तारिसङ्गररसो राजन्यधर्माश्रयः श्रौमल(ल)क्ष्मणसेन-भूपतिरतः सौ-
 20 जन्यसीमाजनि ॥ [7*] ¹³शश्वद्वन्धभयाब्धि (दि) मुक्तविषयास्तन्मात्रनिष्ठोक्तस्वान्ता या-
 21 न्तु कथञ्च नाम रिपवस्तस्य प्रयोगाल्लयम् । येरात्मप्रतिविम्बितेपि निपतत्पतेपि
 22 चञ्चत्तृणेष्वैतेन यतस्ततोपि सपरो देवः परं वोक्तते¹⁴ ॥ [8*] स खलु श्रीविक्र-
 23 मपुरसमावाप्ति(सि)त-श्रीमज्जयस्कन्धावारात् महाराजाधिराज-श्रीवल्लालसेन-
 24 देवपादानुध्यात परमेश्वरपरमवैष्णवपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज-

¹ Expressed by a symbol.² Metre : Sārdūlavikrīḍita.³ Banerji reads : jagatyantra dhyāna.⁴ Metre : Sārdūlavikrīḍita.⁵ Metre : Sārdūlavikrīḍita.⁶ Read dulle.¹³ Metre : Sārdūlavikrīḍita.¹⁴ The correct form should be rikshyate. The visarga is meaningless.² Metre : Sārdūlavikrīḍita.⁴ Read dukkha.⁶ Metre : Vasantatilakā.⁹ Banerji does not supply ca for ga.¹⁰ Metre : Sārdūlavikrīḍita.¹³ Metre : Sārdūlavikrīḍita.

- 25 श्रीमल(ल्ल)क्ष्मणसेनदेवः कुशली । समुपगताशेषराजराजन्यकराञ्ची-
 26 राणकराजपुत्रराजामात्यपुरोहितमहाधर्माध्यक्षमहासान्धिविग्रहि-
 27 कमहासेनापतिमहासुद्राधिकृत-¹ आन्तरङ्गहृदुपरिकमहाक्षपटलिक-

Reverse.

- 28 महाप्रतीहारमहाभोगिकमहापीलुपतिमहागणस्थदीप्ताधिकचौरो-
 29 द्वरणिकनौवलहस्यश्वगोमहिषाजाविकादिव्यापृतकगौत्सिकदण्डपाशि-
 30 कदण्डनायकविषयपत्वा(त्या)दीन् नन्यांश्च² सकलराजपादोपजीविनोध्यक्षप्र-
 31 चारोक्तानिहाकीर्त्तितान(न्) चट्टभट्टजातीयान् जनपदान् चेतकरांश्च ब्रा-
 32 ह्मणान(न्) ब्राह्मणोत्तरान् यथार्ह(र्हे) मानयति बोधयति समादिशति च [।*] मतम-
 33 स्तु भवतां³ यथा श्रीपौण्ड्रवर्द्धनभुक्त्यन्तःपातिवरेद्यान्⁴ पूर्वं बुद्धविहारीदेव-
 34 तानिकरदेया म्मणभूम्याढावापूर्व्वालः⁵ सीमा । दक्षिणे निचङ्गहार-पु
 35 ष्करिणो सीमा । पश्चिमे नन्दिहरिपाकुण्डी सीमा [।*] उत्तरे⁶ मोल्लाणखाड़ी
 सीमा [।*] इ-
 36 थं(त्यं) चतुःसीमावच्छिन्नस्तत्रत्यदेशव्यवहारनलेन⁷ देवगोपथाद्यसारभूवहिः
 37 पञ्चोन्मानाधिकविंशत्युत्तराढावापशतेकात्मकः संव(व)त्सरेण कपट्टकपु-
 38 राणसार्द्धशतेकोत्पत्तिको वेलहिष्टौ-ग्रामीयभूभागः सभाटविटपः⁷
 39 सजलस्थलः सगर्तोषरः सगुवाकनारिकेलः सह्यदशापराधः परि-
 40 र्द्धं (ह) तसर्व्वपीडोऽचट्टभट्टप्रवेशोऽकिञ्चित्प्रग्राह्यस्तृणपूतिगोचर-
 41 पर्यन्तः इताशनदेवशर्मणः प्रपौत्राय मार्कण्डेयदेवशर्मणः पौत्राय ल-
 42 क्ष्मीधरदेवशर्मणः पुत्राय भरद्वाजसगोत्राय भारद्वाज-आङ्गिरस⁸-
 43 बार्हस्पत्यप्रवराय सामवेदकीथुमशाखाचरणानुष्ठायिने हेमाश्वर-
 44 थमहादानाचार्य-श्रीश्वरदेवशर्मणे पुण्येऽहनि विधिवदुदकपू-
 45 र्व्वेकं भगवन्तं श्रीमन्नारायणभट्टारकमुद्दिश्य मातापितरोत्तमनश्च पु-
 46 ण्ययशोभिष्वज्ये दत्तहेमाश्वद(श्वर)थमहादाने दक्षिणाते (ले)नोत्सृज्य आ-
 47 चन्द्रार्कक्षितिसमकालं यावत् भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन ताम्रशासनीकृत्य प्र-
 48 दत्तोऽस्माभिः ॥ तद्भवभिः (झिः) सर्व्वैरेवानुमत्त(न्त)व्यम् । भाविभिरपि नृपति-

¹ Read *kṛit-āntaraṅga* —.

² Read *dīn anyānś-cha*.

³ Omit *risarga*.

⁴ Read *Varendrāyām*. There is a *kāka-pada* sign, resembling a cross, after the last letter *p*, but the scribe seems to have forgotten to insert the correction.

⁵ Banerji reads *Buttharivāhār-āntarikarad-āyammagabhūmipūthārāpapūrvarālik* as one compound word. The expression *māgabhūmi* is probably intended for *mālabhūmi* which may be here substituted.

⁶ Banerji reads *natina* —.

⁷ Banerji reads *sūta* for *jhāta*. Cf. remarks above p. 82.

⁸ Read *Bhāradvāja—Āṅgīrasa*.

- 49 भिरपहरणे नरकपातभयात् पालने धर्मगौरवात्पालनीयम् । भ-
 50 वन्ति चात्र धर्मानुश(शं)सिनः श्लोकाः । ¹बहुभिर्वसुधा² दत्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः ।
 51 यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ³॥ [9 *] ⁴भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यस्य
 भूमिं प्रय-
 52 च्छति । उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्माणो नियतं स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥ [10 *] ⁵स्वदत्तां परदत्ताम्बा⁶
 यो हरे-
 53 त वसुन्धराम् [1 *] स विष्ठाया (यां) क्षमिभूत्वा पितृभिस्सह पच्यते ॥ [11 *]
⁷इति कमलदला-
 54 स्खुविं (वि)न्दुलोलां श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितञ्च । सकलमिदमुदाहृतञ्च बुद्धा⁸ न
 55 हि पुरुषैः ।⁹ परकीर्तयो विलोप्याः ॥ [12 *] ¹⁰श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणसेनो नारायण-
 दत्त-साम्बिविशिष्टकं
 56 इह ईश्वरशासनदाने दूतं व्यधत्त नरनाथः ॥ [13 *] सं २ भाद्रदिने २८¹¹श्री नि
 महासा नि ॥

TRANSLATION.

(For vv. 1-7 and lines 25-32 see above pp. 88-89 and 90.)

(Verse 8).¹² Why should not his enemies perish through his magical power—when out of fear for lifelong imprisonment they have surrendered their landed property, being destined to meet their end in his hands, and (are made to) feel the persence of the king, who has attained the highest perfection, even in their own reflection, even on a dropping leaf and a rustling grass-blade, (in fact) uniformly everywhere ?¹³

or

Why should not his passions (*viparāḥ*), being completely withdrawn from worldly objects (*vimukta-rishayāḥ*), for fear of the bondage (*bandha*, which human flesh

¹ Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

² The letter *dhā* was omitted at first through inadvertence and added later on above the line.

³ Read *phalam*.

⁴ Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

⁵ Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

⁶ Read *dattām vā*.

⁷ Metre : Mālinī.

⁸ Read *buddhā*.

⁹ This sign is unnecessary.

¹⁰ Metre : Aryā.

¹¹ Mr. Banerji reads "Sam 3 Bhādradīne 2" on which I have to make the following observations : (1) Both the numeral signs are of the same appearance (३). Therefore, they cannot represent different values. (2) According to Bendall (*Catalogue of Buddhist Sans. MSS. in the Cambridge University*, table of figure numerals) this sign denotes '2' in MSS. of about the beginning of the 13th century. (3) It denotes the same value also in the copperplates of the sons of Lakṣmanapāda. (4) There is a third numeral sign, occurring immediately after the second one, which has been taken as a sign of interpolation by Mr. Banerji. But I read it as '8' (Cf. Bendall, *op. cit.*).

¹² This is a rather difficult stanza with a pun on almost every word. Two alternative translations are therefore given.

¹³ The poet is probably referring to hypnotic skill.

is heir to), and being limited by the (five) *tanmātras*, attain repose (*laya*), on account of his perfect Yoga practices (*prayoga*) ? For it is through these (passions) that, in spite of the reflection (of the Mind) on Self, the God, who has the Universal Soul within Himself, is perceived everywhere nondually (*advaitena*), even on the dropping leaf and rustling grass-blade.

(Lines 22-25 and 32). Now, from the illustrious 'camp of victory' situated in **Vikramapura**, the *Parameśvara*, *Parama-Vaiṣṇava*, *Paramabhṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Lakshmaṇasena**, who meditated on the feet of the *Mahārājādhirāja* **Vallālasena**, being in good health, commands :

(Lines 33-48) : May it be approved by you : That the land belonging to the village of **Velahisṭī** in **Varendrī** within the **Paundravarddhana-bhukti**, having for its four boundaries (*as follows*) : To the east, the eastern boundary wall of (one) *āḍhāvāpa* of rent-free plain land (?) belonging to the deity of the Buddhist monastery ; ' to the south, the Nichaḍahāra tank (or 'the tank belonging to Nichaḍahāra') ; to the west, the Nandiharipākunḍī (or 'the tank belonging to Nandiharipā') ; to the north, Mollāna-khādī (or 'the ditch belonging to Mollāna'), measuring 120 *āḍhāvāpas* and 5 *unnānas*, excluding such useless land as the path leading to the deity (temple) and cattle-track, and yielding an annual profit of 150 *kapardḍaka-purāṇas*, along with forest and branches, land and water, pits and barren lands, betelnut and cocoanut trees, toleration of Ten sins, exempt from all forced labour, not to be entered by Chātṭas and Bhaṭṭas, exempt from all dues, together with grass, *pūṭi* plant and grazing land, is made over by Us by a copper-plate, as fee for the ceremony of the Great Gift in which a golden horse and chariot were given away, on this auspicious day, after duly touching water and in the name of the illustrious god Nārāyaṇa, for the merit and fame of my parents as well as myself, for as long as the moon, sun and the earth endure, according to the principle of *Bhūmicchhādra*, to Īśvaradevaśarmman, who officiated as the *Āchārya* in the 'Great Gift of golden horse and chariot,' son of Lakshmīdharadevaśarmman, grandson of Mārkaṇḍeyadevaśarmman and great-grandson of Hutāśanadevaśarmman, belonging to the Bharadvāja *gotra*, Bhāradvāja, Āṅgīrasa and Bārhaspayta *pravaras* and a follower of the *charaṇas* of the Kauthuma *śākhā* of the Sāmaveda.

(Lines 48-50) : So you should all give your assent to it. And it should be

¹ The text reads *Buddharīhārideratānikaradeyammāpa-bhūmyāḍhāvāpa-pūreṇāli*. As it stands it gives no sense, for what is meant by *deyamāna-bhūmy*--? I suggest that the reading intended was probably *deyamālabhūmy*--etc. The word *mālabhūmi* means 'a table land' ; *māla-kṣetra* is used in that sense in Vallabhadeva's commentary on the *Meghadūta*. For the word *māla* used in inscriptions, see N. Chakravarti, *J.A.S.B.*, 1909, p. 348.

protected by future kings also, considering that its protection entails great religious merit and taking away, fear of falling into Hell. There are also verses in this matter enjoining *Dharma*.

(Here follow four of the customary verses for which see translation on pp. 79-80 : vv. 15, 16, 19 and 20).

(Verse 13) : The *sāṇdhivigrahika* Nārāyaṇadatta was made the 'messenger' (*dūta*), in the land grant to Īśvara by the illustrious king **Lakshmaṇasena**.

(Line 56) : **The year 2, the 28th day of Bhādra**. (Endorsed by) the illustrious (king). (Endorsed by) the Mahāsā(ṇdhivigrahika).

XI. MĀDHĀINAGAR COPPER-PLATE OF LAKSHMANASENA.

This copper-plate was discovered by a cultivator named Raghunath Bunia in the village of **Mādhāinagar**, P.S. Raigunj, in the Sirajgunj sub-division of the Pabna District, sometime about the year 1874. The circumstances under which it was discovered and ultimately brought to the notice of scholars were described by Babu Prasanna Nārāyan Chaudhuri, Government Pleader of Pabna, in 1899, in a Bengali Journal called *Āitiḥāsika Chitra*, Vol. I, part I, pp. 92-94. He also published a tentative reading of the inscription in the same Journal, Vol. I, part III, pp. 431-36. Sometime after the publication of this article the plate appears to have been lent to Babu Ganga Mohan Laskar, and after his death it found its way to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, where it is at present deposited. The inscription was edited by Mr. R.D. Banerji in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, N.S., Vol. V (1909), pp. 467 and ff, and Plates XXIII, XXIV. I now re-edit it from the original and a set of inked estampages. I am obliged to Mr. Johann van Manen, Secretary of the Society, for his having placed the copper-plate at my disposal for study.

This is a **single plate**, measuring 12'' by 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ '' . It is engraved on both sides and is in a extremely bad state of preservation. It bears a seal containing a representation of Sadāśiva, attached to the top, which, however, is on the whole well-preserved. The writing consists of 58 lines of which twenty-nine are incised on the obverse and twenty-nine on the reverse. The size of letters is about $\frac{1}{4}$ '' . In many places letters have disappeared through corrosion, especially on the reverse side of the plate, and this has rendered complete restoration of the text impossible. The **characters** belong to a variety of the Northern class of alphabets, which may be called the precursors of modern Bengali, and were current in Bengal in the 12th century A.D. No special remarks are necessary on the individual forms of letters. - The **language** is Sanskrit. Its orthography is the same as in other records of the Sena dynasty. With the exception of the introductory *om om namo Nārāyaṇāya* the text upto the end of line 24, and again from the middle of line 53 to the beginning of line 56, is in verse. The rest is in prose. As the entire text cannot be made out it is not possible to ascertain where exactly the poetry portions end and the prose portions begin. The verses, which are at least thirteen in number, donot occur in any other copper-plate of the Sena dynasty. They are composed in a variety of metres viz.

Śārdūlavikrīḍita, Pushpitāgrā, Sragdharā, Mālinī, Vasantatilaka, Upendravajrā, and Anusṭubh. Resemblances between a few verses of this plate with a few of the Deopārā inscription have been noted already by scholars.¹ Thus verses 4 and 6 of this inscription are parallel respectively to verses 5 and 16 of the Deopārā inscription. It was therefore suggested that both the records are the composition of the same poet, namely, Umāpatidhara.² I should here further note, that the expression *mārāṅkamalla* (ll. 8-9) of the present copper-plate corresponds to *mārāṅkavīra* of the Deopārā inscription (l. 10) and that in both the records these expressions have been used with reference to Hemantasena. Again verse 2 of this record almost exactly corresponds to a verse ascribed to Umāpatidhara in the *Saduktikarṇāmrīta* (Bib. Ind. ed., p. 92, v. 4) It is therefore not unlikely that the poet lived not only in the court of Vijayasena, but also in that of his son and grandson. The tradition recorded by Merutuṅga that Umāpati was the minister of Lakshmaṇasena may not after all be without foundation. (See above, p. 45).

(The inscription is one of the *Parameśvara*, *Paramanārasimha*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Vallālasena**, 'who meditated on the feet' of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, **Lakshmaṇasena** (ll. 26-33), whose predecessor **Vijayasena** was also most probably mentioned in the previous line (l. 25), but there is nothing left of it excepting one of his titles, *Mahārājādhirāja*. The record opens with obeisance to god Nārāyaṇa. Verses 1 and 2 are addressed to Śiva (Pañchānana) and to the Moon god respectively. Next we are told that in the latter's lineage were born kings (*varendrah*, v. 3) and that in the family of Vīrasena who was one of them, flourished **Sāmantasena**, 'the headgarland of the Kārṇṇāṭa kshatriyas' (v. 4). From him was born **Hemantasena** (v. 5) whose son was **Vijayasena** (v. 6). From the latter was born **Vallālasena** who married **Rāmadevī**, daughter of a **Chālukya** king (vv. 8-9). Her son was the illustrious **Lakshmaṇasena** (v. 10) who seems to be described in the copper-plate as having suddenly seized the kingdom of **Gauḍa**, raided **Kaliṅga** and defeated the king of **Kāśī** in battle (v. 11). From the end of l. 20 down to l. 25 the text is so much damaged that nothing can be made out. Lines 26-32 contained originally a lengthy description of the reigning sovereign Lakshmaṇasena, who is decorated with a number of titles, such as *Vīra-chakravartī*, *Sārrcabhauma*, *Somvamaṇṣapradīpa*, and so on and described as, 'the great Brahma-kshatriya,' 'one who subdued **Kāmarūpa** by his prowess', 'who overthrew **Kaliṅga**' (*vikalikṛita-Kaliṅga*), and as **Gauḍeśvara** or 'lord of **Gauḍa**.'

¹ J.A.S.B., N.S., Vol. V (1909), p. 469.

² Prasanna Nārāyaṇ Chaudhuri, *Ātīhāsika Chīnta*, Vol. I, part 3, p. 424.

The place from which the document was issued (l. 25) has been read by Mr. Banerji as 'Dhāryya-grāma' about the correctness of which one may be somewhat doubtful. It is addressed by the king to his various officials and also other persons whose list is given in ll. 34-39. The grant consisted of a village called **Dāpaṇiyā-pāṭaka** comprising 100 *bhūkhādīs* and 91 *khāḍikās* of land and yielding an annual income of more than 168 (?) *kaparddaka-purāṇas*. The boundaries of the village are described in lines 40-42 (for which see translation). It was situated near **Kāntāpura**, in **Varendrī**, within the **Paṇḍravarddhanabhukti** (ll. 39-44). The donee was the *Sāntyāgārika* Govindadevaśarmman, son of Kumāradevaśarmman, grandson of Rāmadevaśarmman and great-grandson of Dāmodaradevaśarmman, belonging to the Kauśika *gotra* and a student of the Paippalāda *śākhā* of the Atharvaveda (ll. 45-48). The mention of *mūlābhisheka* or 'original coronation' in line 49 probably indicates that the grant was made in connection with it (cf. Govindapur copper-plate). But the lacunae, in ll. 49-50, which cannot be filled up, make it impossible for us to ascertain the full significance of the expression. Similarly in l. 50 the isolated expression, *Aindrī mahāśānti*, cannot be explained. In the last seven lines (ll. 51-58) we can read only a few scraps of the imprecatory and benedictory verses and some of the stereotyped expressions in connection with a grant.

The record is of great historical importance. The significance of Sāmantasena being called *Karṇṇāṭakshatriya* (l. 7) and Lakshmaṇasena, *Brahma-kshatriya* (l. 31) has already been adverted to in connection with the origin of the Senas (see above p. 44). Their relationship with the Chālukyas of the Deccan is attested by verse 9, which says that Vallālasena married Rāmadevī, the daughter of a Chālukya king. Thus even after their immigration to Bengal, the Senas received a fresh infiltration of the Deccan blood. They originally came, as is well known, from Karṇṇāṭa which according to some scholars would be identical with the territory ruled over by the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī, because, Vikramāditya VI of that dynasty bore the title of Karṇṇāṭendu.¹ Whether Vallālasena married in this Chālukya house is of course not certain.

The description of the achievements of Lakshmaṇasena is worth noticing. First of all his defeat of the lord of Gauḍa and the adoption of the title of Gauḍeśvara. We know from the Deopārā inscription that his grand-father Vijayasena caused 'Gauḍendra' to make a hasty retreat. But it seems that he was not able to annex the Gauḍa kingdom and retain

¹ *Gauḍarājamālā*, Introduction, p. xi.

its possession for any length of time. Because in this inscription it is stated that Lakshmanasena, when a *kumāra*, i.e., during the reign of his father, deprived the Gauda king of his fortune. It is possible that this Gauda king was one of the last of the Pālas who for sometime after the extinction of their Imperial power retained possession of a portion of Bengal. In the Edilpur grant of Keśavasena (ll. 39-43), it may be noted, the title Gaudeśvara is attributed to Vijayasena and his successors without any reservation. As regards Lakshmanasena's encounter with a king of Kāliṅga it is difficult to say who this person was. His conquest of Kāmarūpa (Assam) receives, however, some light from a passage in the Assam plates of Vallabhadeva, dated 1184-85 A.D.,¹ which says that Rāyārīdeva, grand-father of Vallabhadeva, met the elephants of Vaṅga (*Vaṅga-karīndra*) in battle. According to some scholars,² this contains an echo of the invasion of Assam by Lakshmanasena. But it might, as well and more probably, refer to the invasion of Vijayasena, which is mentioned in his Deopārā inscription. The 'king of Kāśī' defeated by Lakshmanasena is, of course, a member of the Gāhaḍavāla family, and it is possible that Jayachandra is here intended. In the copper-plates of Keśavasena and Viśvarūpasena this incident has been probably alluded to, in the verse *relāyām lakṣmīābher*...etc.

TEXT.

Obverse.

- 1 ॐ³ ॐ नमो नारायणाय ॥ 'यस्याऽङ्गे शरदम्बुदोरसि तडिल्लेखेव गौरी प्रिया देहाङ्गेन
हरिं समाश्रि-
- 2 तमभूद्यस्यातिचित्रं वपुः । दोसाकंद्युतिलोचनत्रयरुचा घोरं दधानो मुखं देवत्रास-
निरस्तदानव-
- 3 गजः पुण्यातु पञ्चाननः ॥ [1 *] 'स्वर्गं द्वाजलपुण्डरीकममृतप्रादरधारागृहं
शृङ्गारद्रुमपुष्पमौश्वरशि-
- 4 खालङ्कारमुक्तामणिः । क्षीराभोनिधिजीवित(°) कुमुदिनोदन्देकवैहासको जीयाम्भ-
न्मथराजपौष्टि-
- 5 कमहाशान्तिहिजयन्द्रमाः ॥ [2 *] 'त्रिभुवनजयसम्भृतावल्लभैः क्रतुभिरवाधित⁷सन्निवो-
ऽमराणाम् । अजनिषत

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 184.² Expressed by a symbol.³ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁴ Metre : Pushpitāgārī.⁵ *Gaṇḍarājamālā*, p. 67.⁶ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁷ Banerji reads *acādhita-satrina*.

- 6 तदन्वये धरित्रीवल्लवविशृङ्खलकीर्त्तयो नरेन्द्राः ॥ [3 *] ¹ पौराणीभिः कथाभिः प्रथित-
गुणगणे वीरसेनस्य
- 7 वंशे कर्षाटक्षत्रियाणामजनि कुलशिरोदाम सामन्तसेनः । कृत्वा निर्वीरमुर्वीतल-
मधिकतरान्तुप्यता ना-
- 8 कनद्या निस्सिक्तो येन युध्यद्रिपुरुधिरकणाकीर्णधारः [कृ] पाणः ॥ [4 *] ² वीराणामधि-
देवतं रिपुचमूमारा-
- 9 इमल्लव्रतस्तस्माद्विस्मयनीयशौर्यमहिमा हेमन्तसेनोऽभवत् । चीरोदाधरवाससो वसु-
मतीदेव्या
- 10 यदीयं यथा रत्नस्येव सुमेरुमौलिमिलितं क्षीमश्रियं पुथ्यति ॥ [5 *] ³ अजनि
विजयसेनस्तेजसां राशिर-
- 11 स्मात् समरविस्मराणां भूभृतामेकशेषः । इह जगति विषेहे येन वंशस्य पूर्वः पुरुष
इति सुधांशौ
- 12 केवलं राजशब्दः ॥ [6 *] ⁴ भूचक्रं कियदेतदावृतमभूद्यद्दामनस्याङ्घ्रिणा नागानां
कियदाभ्युदयं सुर⁵
- 13 सालङ्घन्ति⁶ गूढाङ्घ्रयः । ⁷ एकाहोद्यदनूरुश्चति किय[न्मा]वन्तदप्यम्बरं यस्येतीव
यशो क्रिया त्रिभुव-
- 14 न⁸ व्याप्यापि नो लप्यति ॥ [7 *] ⁹ तस्मादशेषभुवनोत्सवकारणेन्दुर्व्वल्लालसेन-जगती-
पतिरुज्जगाम । यः
- 15 केवलं न खलु सर्व्वनरेश्वराणामेकः समग्रविवुधामपि चक्रवर्त्ती ॥ [8 *] ¹⁰ धराधरान्तः
पुरमौलिरत्नचा-
- 16 लुक्यभूपालकुलेन्दुलेखा । तस्या प्रियाभूद्बहुमानभूमिर्लक्ष्मीपृथिव्योरपि
रामदेवौ ॥ [9 *] — — —¹¹
- 17 वसुदेवदेवकसुतादेहान्तराभ्यामिव श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणसेनमूर्त्तिरजनि क्षमापालनारा-
यणः । — — —¹²

¹ Metre : Sragdharā.

² Metre : Mālinī.

³ Banerji reads *kiṇad-āṣṭadarpam*.

⁴ Banerji reads *ekāhā* . . . The sign for *o* is not clear, but the reading given above seems to be the one intended.

⁵ Banerji reads *tribhuvana-ryāpy* —

⁶ Banerji reads *asmād*. Metre : Vasantatilakā.

⁷ Metre : Upendravajrā.

⁸ The first three *akṣaras* (with long vowels) of a stanza in Śārdūlavikrīḍita metre are missing here.

⁹ Two letters with long vowels are missing here.

² Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

³ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

⁴ Banerji reads *lapsanti*.

- 18 यन्मयजन्मनिःसहमिलद्विभ्वागुवच्चक्षलात् कृष्टेनाधि...धिक...कमि...॥[10 *] ¹(आ)
 19 सीद्गौड़ेश्वर-श्रीहठहरणकला² यस्य कौमारकेलिः कलिङ्गेनाङ्गनाभि.....
 20 वे यस्य पूर्व्यः । येनासौ काशिराजः समरभुवि जितो यस्य.....धाराभीर...पा...
 थाति...
 21 खरणजरजसा निर्ममे कार्मणानि ॥[11 *] ³आकौमारं समरकृति.....
 22 मिव दिशामीशितास्ते विमुक्ताः । ह...वपुर्विकलण्य तस्य ति...ष्टौ प्रविष्टाः...
 23 त्र हि क्षत्रियाणां कृपाणः ॥ [12 *] ⁴यत्रारामद्रुमदलरूपा शेवाल...
 24 पुरो सञ्चिता भूः । प्राणान् मुञ्चन्त्यवनिपतयो.....[॥ *] [13 *]
 25 ...निर्गते खलु धार्यग्राम-परिसरसमावासितश्रीमहाराजधिराज...
 26 परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज-श्रीवल्लालसेनदेवपादानुध्यात-श्री...
 27
 28
 29

Reverse.

- 30 विक्रमस्य वीरचक्रवर्त्तिसार्वभौम.....सोमवंशप्रदौपराजप्रतापनारायण-परम-
 31 दीक्षित-परमब्रह्मक्षत्रिय-सुमेरु....क्रीडावधूतमशेषकेलिविकलीकृतक-
 32 लिङ्ग⁵-विग्रमवशीकृत-कामरू(पा)वनीमण्डलैकचक्रवर्त्ति...गौड़ेश्वर-परमे-
 33 श्वरपरमनारसिंहपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज-श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणसेनदेवपादा
 विजयिनः समु-
 34 पगताशेषराजराजन्यकराज्ञीराणकराजपुत्रराजामात्यमहापुरोहितमहाधर्माध्यक्षमहा-
 सान्नि-
 35 विशिष्टिकमहासेनापतिमहामुद्राधिकृत-अन्तरङ्गबृहदुपरिकमहाक्षपटलिकमहाप्रतीहार-
 36 महाभोगिकमहापीलुपतिमहागणस्थ⁶-दौःसाधिकचौरोदरणिक्नौवलहस्त्यश्वगोमहिषाजा-
 37 विक्रादिव्याघ्रतकगौल्लिकदण्डपाशिकदण्डनायकविषयपत्यादीनन्यांश्च सकलराज-
 पादोपजी-
 38 विनोऽध्यक्षप्रचारोक्तानिहाकीर्त्तितान् चट्टभट्टजातीयान् जनपदान् क्षेत्रकरान् ब्राह्मणान् ब्रा-

¹ Metre : Śāṇḍilavikrīḍita.² Banerji reads *spāl* -and *harana* (?) *karma*. D.C. Bhattacharya has already suggested the corrections *āsāl* and *harana* in *Ind. Ant.*, 1922, p. 148, n. 16.³ Metre : Mandākrāntā.⁴ Metre : Mandākrāntā.⁵ Banerji reads *kalahka*.

- 39 ह्यणोत्तरान् यथाहं मानयन्ति बोधयन्ति समादिशन्ति च मतमस्तु भवताम् । यथा
श्रीपौण्ड्रवर्द्धन-भु-
- 40 त्वन्तःपाति-वरेन्द्रां कान्तापुरा-वृत्तौ रावणसरसि द्विस्थाने (?)¹ पूर्व
चङ्गस्यसापाटक-पश्चिमभूः² सीमा
- 41 दक्षिणे गयनगर-उत्तर(गरोत्तर)भूःसीमा पश्चिमे गुगडीस्थिरापाटक-पूर्वभूः सीमा
उत्तरे गुगडीदापणिया-द-
- 42 क्षिणभूःसीमा इत्यं चतुःसीमावच्छिन्नगोयवगोचराद्यस्य च देवब्राह्मणपाल्य भवद्भिः एक-
43 नवतिखाडिकाधिकभूखाडीशतैकात्मक(को) संवत्सरेण कपर्दकाष्टषष्टिपुराणाधिकशत-
मूल्योत्पत्तिको³ दापणिया-
- 44 पाटकः । सभाटवितपः⁴ सजलस्थलः सगर्तापरः सगुवाकनारिकेलः सञ्चद-
45 (शापराधः परि)हृतसर्वपीडोऽचट्टभट्टप्रवेशः(अ)किञ्चित्प्रयाह्यस्तृणपूतिगोचर-
पथ्यन्तः दा-
- 46 (मोदर)देवशर्मणः प्रपौत्ताय श्रीरामदेवशर्मणः पौत्ताय कुमारदेवशर्मणः पुत्ताय
कौशिक-
- 47 सगोत्राय.....प्रवराय अथर्ववेदपैप्पलादशाखाध्यायिने शान्त्यागारिक⁵-
48 श्रीगोविन्ददेवशर्मणे विधिवदुदकपूर्वकं भगवन्तं श्रीमन्नारायणभट्टारकमुद्दिश्य
49 मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोऽभिष्टब्धये सप्तविंशत्यावणदिवसे.....पूर्वकमूलाभिषेकः
50 ...ऐन्द्री⁶ महाशान्तितगति.....णिकादि...उत्सृज्याचन्द्रार्कचिन्ति⁷-
51 समकालं या(वत् भूमिच्छिद्र)न्यायेन प्रदत्तोऽस्माभिः तद्भवद्भिः सर्वैरेवानुमन्त-
52 व्यं भाविभिरपि नृपतिभिरपहरणे नरकपातभयात् पालने धर्मगौरवात् पालनीयं ।
भवन्ति
- 53 चात्र धर्मानुशंसिनः श्लोकाः(1) ⁸भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति उभौ तौ

¹ This is Banerji's reading.

² Regarding the reading of the names of localities I have followed Banerji, although I have doubts about some of them.

³ Banerji reads *mālyakādika*.

⁴ Banerji reads *sasāra*.

Banerji reads *śāntyaśārika*. The name of the donee Govindadevasarma is preceded by a word evidently of the sort of epithet (l. 47). Banerji reads it as *Śāntyaśārika* which, however, has no sense. In the Sundarban copper-plate (see Appendix) the same word occurs in three places before personal names e.g. *Śāntyaśārika* Srikrishnadhara, the donee of that particular grant. I have no doubt that this is a wrong reading (through a confusion of *g* and *ś*) of the word *Śāntyaśārika*, which actually occurs in the present copper-plate. This would correspond to *Śāntyaśārikādhikṛita*, used in respect of a donee in the Belāya copper-plate of Bhojavarmman (l. 44).

⁶ Banerji reads *Āindya*.

⁷ Banerji reads *uchchhṛījya*.

- 54 (णो नियतं स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥ [14*] ¹बहुभिर्व्यसुधा दत्ता) राजभिः सगरादिभिः यस्य
यस्य यदा भूमि-
- 55 स्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं² ॥ [15*] (³आस्फोटयन्ति पितरो बलायन्ति पितामहाः) भूमि-
दोऽस्मत्कुले जातस्मि न-
- 56 स्वाता भविष्यति (॥) [16*]
- 57
- 58

TRANSLATION.

Om. Om. Adoration to Nārāyaṇa.

(Verse 1). He who bears in his lap (his) beloved Gaurī, as a streak of lightning on the breast of an autumn cloud, who sustained Hari in a half of his most wonderful body, whose countenance is fearful on account of his three eyes, dazzling like the bright rays of the sun, and who is the terror of the gods and the subduer of elephantlike demons - May that five-faced one (i.e. Śiva) grant prosperity.

(Verse 2). Victorious be the Moongod, the priest of king Bacchus in the great propitiatory ceremony conducive to his prosperity - the god who is the lotus in the waters of the Heavenly River, the showerbath of ambrosia, the flower of the tree of love, the precious pearl decorating Śiva's head, born of the Ocean of Milk and the unique being who can make the beds of lotuses smile.

(Verse 3). In his lineage were born princes whose fame was not confined within the boundaries of this earth. They made preparations for sacrifices befitting a conquest of the three worlds and thereby checked the priests serving in the Sessional Soma sacrifices of the gods.

(Verse 4). In the family of **Virasena**, which has become illustrious through the legends recorded in the Purāṇas, was born **Sāmantasena**, the head-garland of the clan of the Kārṇṇāṭa-Kshatriyas. Being exceedingly satisfied on his rendering the earth destitute of heroes, he washed in the Heavenly river (i.e. the Ganges) his sabre, besmeared with streaks of blood of belligerent foes.

(Verse 5). From him was born **Hemantasena**, who was to the heroes a god and had taken a vow to annihilate the forces of his enemies. He was endowed with wonderful prowess and magnanimity, and his fame, touching the crest of Mount Sumeru, heightened the beauty of the garment of the Earth goddess, (beauty that was) equal to that of the (Kaustubha) jewel, which emanated from the depth of the Milk-ocean.

¹ Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

² Read *phalam*.

³ Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

(Verse 6). From this person was born **Vijayasena**, a store of valour and the chief among princes, engaged in warlike expeditions. In this world he tolerated only the moon to assume the epithet of 'king', as the latter happened to be his ancestor.

(Verse 7). Of no glory it is that only the earth was covered by the footstep of the Dwarf.¹ Not very far do the serpents penetrate into the Nāga region (?), moving on their breast. And very little distance again does the kneeless being (i.e. Aruṇa) cover in a day, and that also not beyond the Heavenly sphere quite ashamed at this as it were his Fame did not rest satisfied even after encompassing the three worlds.

(Verse 8). From that (king) was born the lord of the earth **Vallālasena**, the moon that brought delight to the Universe. He was the unique suzerain not only over all the kings but over all the scholars as well.

(Verse 9). His wife was **Rāmadevī**, the crest-jewel of the royal harem, the moonlight of the house of **Chālukya** kings and an object of high esteem to the two goddesses, Fortune and Earth.

(Verse 10). The illustrious king **Lakshmaṇasena** was born.....as (**Kṛishṇa**) from Vasudeva and Devakī.....

(Verse 11). His sport, as a Crown-prince, was displayed in the playful and sudden seizure of the goddess of Fortune of the king of **Gauḍa** whose.....with the females of **Kaliṅga**.....He defeated in battle-field the king of **Kāśī**.....

(Verses 12 and 13 cannot be restored and do not therefore admit of translation).

(Lines 25-33).....The lord of **Gauḍa**, the *Parameśvara*, the great worshipper of Vishṇu in his Man-Lion (incarnation), the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Lakshmaṇasena**, the victorious, the suzerain of all heroes, the lord of the whole earth, the lamp of the lineage of Moon.....the great one who has undergone his initiation (ceremony), the great Brahmakshatriya, the one who has crippled **Kaliṅga**, and subdued **Kāmarūpa** by strength, the unique paramount sovereign in this earth, residing near **Dhāryyagrāma** and meditating on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* **Vallālasena**.....

(Lines 33-39) : duly honours, informs and orders those that have assembled viz all the *Rājans*, *Rājanyakas*, *Rājñīs*, *Rāṇakas*, *Rājaputras*, *Rājāmātyas*, *Mahāpurohita*,² *Mahādharṃmādhyaḥksha*, *Mahāsāndhivigrahika*, *Mahāsenāpati*, *Mahāmudrādhikṛita*, *Antaraṅgabṛihaduparika*, *Mahākshapatalika*, *Mahāpra-*

¹ I.E. the Vāmana incarnation of Vishṇu.

² Mentioned also in the Govindapur plate.

śihāra, *Mahābhogika*, *Mahāpīlupati*, *Mahāgaṇastha*, *Daṁṣādhikas*, *Chauroddharaṇikas*, officers engaged over the navy, army, elephants, horses, cows, buffaloes, goats, sheep etc., the *Gaulmikas*, *Daṇḍapāśikas*, *Daṇḍanāyakas*, *Vishayapatis*, and others depending on His Majesty, who are included in the List of Officers, but not enumerated here, those of the class of *Chattas* and *Bhattas*, the provincials, the cultivators, the Brāhmaṇas and the chief of the Brāhmaṇas :

(Lines 39-51). Be it approved by you that : **Dāpaṇiyā-pāṭaka**, in the direction of **Kāntāpura**, on the **Rāvaṇa** lake..... in **Varendrī**, lying within the **Paundravardhanabhukti**, having the four boundaries as follows : the eastern boundary being the land abutting on the western side of **Chadaśpasā-pāṭaka** ; the southern boundary being the land abutting on the northern side of **Gayanagara** ; the western boundary being the land abutting on the eastern side of **Guṇḍīsthīrāpāṭaka** ; and the northern boundary being the land abutting on the southern side of **Guṇḍīdāpaṇiyā**. . . . measuring one hundred *bhūḥhādīs* and ninety one *khādīkās*, yielding an annual income of one hundred *parāṇis* and sixty-eight *kaparḍakās*¹ and intended for the maintenance of Brāhmaṇas and deities by you (?), along with forest and branches, land and water, pits and barren tracts, betelnut and cocoanut trees, exempt from the Ten sins, free from all sorts of forced labour, not to be entered by *Chattas* and *Bhattas*, free from all dues, along with grass, *pūti* plant and pasture (?), is given by Us in the name of lord Nārāyaṇabhātṭāraka, after having duly touched water, for the increase of merit and fame of myself and my parents, according to the principle of *Bhūmichchhidra*, for as long as the sun, moon and the earth endure, to Govindadevaśarmman who is in charge of the house of propitiatory rites, great-grandson of Dāmodaradevaśarmman, grandson of Rāmadevaśarmman and son of Kumāradevaśarmman, belonging to the Kauśika *gotra*, . . . *pravara*, a student of the Paippalāda *sākhā* of the Atharvaveda, (on the occasion of) the *Aindrī Māhāśānti* (ceremony) . . . the first coronation . . . on the **twenty-seventh day of Śrāvaṇa** . . .

(Lines 51-53). So it should be agreed upon by all of you and protected also by future kings, considering that its protection leads to the increase of religious merit and its taking away, the fear of falling into Hell.

There are also in this matter verses enjoining Dharma : (Here follow a few of the customary verses of which three are legible ; for their translation see above p. 79 : vv. 16,15,17).²

¹ In the original the passage stands thus कपड् काटवट्टपुराणविक्रयत् etc. which is probably meant for अपर्द्ध काटवट्टाविक्रयत् ।

² It is not certain whether any further information was contained in the portion immediately following these

XII. DACCA IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF LAKSHMANASENA.

This inscription, which is incised on the pedestal of an image of Chaṇḍī, was discovered in 1911 at Dal-bazar in the town of **Dacca** by Mr. R.D. Banerji. An account of the image as well as the inscription has already been published by him in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, N.S., Vol. IX (1913), pp. 289-290, and plates. In 1917 Mr. Banerji kindly presented me a set of inked estampages of the inscription and from these the present edition of the text was prepared some years ago. The image, which bears the inscription, has been described by Mr. Banerji as follows : "The image represents a goddess with four hands standing on a fully expanded lotus. She holds a lotus and a water-pot in her right hand, a battle axe in her upper left and her lower left hand is in the posture of blessing. A female attendant stands on each side of her holding a fly-whisk. The main image stands under a sort of porch or niche probably intended to represent a temple. On the pedestal is the inscription in two lines on a plain band in front and a recessed corner on each side. Below this is a lion couchant in front with three devotees kneeling on three recessed corners on each side. On the top of the niche or shrine are two elephants, one on each side with vases on their upraised trunks as if they are pouring water over the head of the goddess." Iconographically the sculpture is important, as no other image of Chaṇḍī of this type seems to be so far known.

The inscription, which is a small one, consisting of three parts (marked A,B,C), is not very carefully engraved. The **characters** are the precursors of modern Bengali as current in the twelfth century A.D. Attention should be drawn only to the letter which Mr. Banerji reads as *i*, but which I am inclined to read as *ī*, in *Māladeī*. The **language** is Sanskrit prose, presenting many inaccuracies. The form *deī* for *devī* betrays perhaps vernacular influence.

It records the installation of an image of Chaṇḍī by Nārāyaṇa, brother of an officer named Dāmodara, son of Māladeī, in the **year 3** of the reign of **Lakshmaṇasena**.

TEXT.

A 1 श्रीमल्लक्ष्मण-

2 सेनदेवस्य सं ३



ROYAL SEAL
of the Sena Kings
(from Tarpanadighi Plate)
Full Size

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

मातृदेवस्यै नमः शिवाय ॥ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

Dacca (or Rampal) Chandi Image inscription
of the reign of Lakshmanasena.

- B 1 ¹मालदेईसुतअधिकृतश्रीदामोद-
 2 ण ²श्रीचण्डीदेवो समारब्धा तभ्रादकणा³
 C 1 श्रीनारायणेन
 2 प्रतिष्ठितेति: ॥⁴

TRANSLATION.

A.—In the year 3 of the illustrious Lakshmaṇasena.

B-C—(The image of) Chaṇḍīdevī, begun by the officer⁵ Dāmodara, son of Māladeī (Malladevī), is installed by his (younger)⁶ brother Nārāyaṇa.

¹ The letter *la* is peculiar. Is it *lla* ?

² Read *Dāmodarṇa*.

³ Perhaps *tad-bhrātrikena* was intended.

⁴ Read - *eti*.

⁵ The word *adhikṛita* is translated as 'judge' by Mr. Banerji. Cf. Apte's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s.v., where the meaning 'officer', 'functionary' etc. is given in the light of *Kirāta*, VI, 46 : *samblhāvanā hy = adhikṛitasya tanotā tjab*. Mallinātha explains it as *krachid = adhikāre nyuktasya* (Nirmayasāgara ed., p. 89). The word should be therefore taken in a general sense, as officer. Cf. such titles of officers as *mudrādāhṛita*, 'officer in charge of the Royal-Seal', used in inscriptions.

⁶ The addition of the suffix *ka* probably indicates that Nārāyaṇa was a younger brother of Dāmodara. This portion is not translated by Mr. Banerji.

XIII.—EDILPUR COPPER-PLATE OF KEŚAVASENA.

This copper-plate, which is now missing, was discovered some time about 1838 in the **Edilpur** parganā of the District of Faridpur, in course of digging in a plot of 'land deposited by river inundation'. The actual findplace of the record is not known. It was presented by the late Babu Kanailal Tagore to the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1838, and James Prinsep published his reading of the inscription, along with an English translation by Pandit Śāradāprasāda, in the Society's *Journal*, Vol. VII, pp. 43-46, 47-51 and facsimile. A revised reading was published by Mr. R. D. Banerji in 1914 in the same *Journal*, N. S., Vol. X, pp. 99-104. The following text is prepared after comparing the two hitherto published texts with Prinsep's facsimile, the Madanapāḍā grant as well as the newly discovered grant of Viśvarūpasena.

This is a **single plate** engraved on both sides, bearing the usual seal representing Sadāśiva at the top. In line 56, this seal is referred to as *Sadāśiva-mudrā*. The writing consists of 65 lines of which thirtyone are incised on the obverse and thirtyfour on the reverse. The **characters** are proto-Bengali, as were current about the end of the 12th century A. D., being more developed than those of the copper-plates of Vijayasena, Vallālasena and Lakshmaṇasena. The **language** is Sanskrit. With the exception of the introductory formula *om om namo Nārāyaṇāya* the inscription is in verse upto the middle of line 38. The prose portion then begins and it continues up to about the end of line 58. This is followed again by metrical composition which terminates in line 64. The remaining portion of the record (ll. 64-65) is in prose. The verses are altogether thirtytwo in number, being composed in a variety of metres viz. Vasantatilaka, Śārdūlavikrīḍita, Pṛithvī, Sragdharā, Pushpitāgrā, Āryā, Anuṣṭubh, Mandākrāntā and Mālinī. The influence of Bengali vernacular is traceable in a few cases e.g. the root in *laggāvayitvā* (l. 52) in the sense 'to cause to be planted'.

(The inscription is one of 'the suzerain of the three lords—*aśvapati*, *gajapati*, *narapati*', 'the sun of the lotus-like **Sena** family', 'the lamp of the Soma lineage', the *Parameśvara*, *Paramahatṭāraka*, 'the devout worshipper of the Sun', *Mahārājādhirāja*, 'the lord of **Gauḍa**', the illustrious **Keśavasena**, having the *viruda*, *Arirāj-āsahya-Śaṅkara*, who 'meditated on the feet of the *Arirāja-Madana-Śaṅkara*, the lord of Gauḍa, the illustrious **Lakshmaṇasena**, who meditated on the feet of the *Arirāja-niḥśaṅka-Śaṅkara*, 'the lord of Gauḍa', the illustrious **Vallālasena**, who again 'meditated on the feet of' the *Arirāja-vṛishabha-Śaṅkara*, 'the lord of Gauḍa', the illustrious

Vijayasena (ll. 38-43.) The record opens with obeisance to god Nārāyaṇa, followed by an invocation to the sun and moon (vv. 1-2). In the line of the moon were born kings (v. 3), a descendant of whom was **Vijayasena** (v. 4). Verses 5-24 contain an eulogistic account of Vijayasena, his son **Vallālasena**, Vallālasena's son **Lakshmaṇasena** and Lakshmaṇasena's two sons, **Viśvarūpasena** and **Keśavasena**. (Lakshmaṇasena is credited with having posted sacrificial pillars, along with pillars of victory, at three places, viz., on the coast of the southern sea, where *Musaladhara*, i.e. Balarāma and *Gadāpāṇi*, i.e. Viṣṇu, are installed, which is most probably Puri in Orissa; at the site of Viśveśvara, i.e. Benares, and at the junction of the three rivers (Trivenī), i.e. Allahabad (v. 13).) Lakshmaṇasena's wife was the *Maharājñī Chāndrādevī* (v. 14). He had two sons, Viśvarūpa and Keśava, of whom the former is mentioned in verse 10 and the latter in verse 15. Keśavasena is described as born of Chāndrādevī (v. 15). He is represented as 'the day of destruction to the family of the Yavanas' (v. 21). (The grant was issued from 'the camp of victory' situated at **Phalgugrāma** and addressed by the king to his various officials and also other persons,) whose list is given in ll. 43-46. The land granted was **Talapaḍāpātaka**, which lay within **Vikramapura** in **Vaṅga**, belonging to the **Paundravardhanabhukti** (l. 47).) The donee was the *nītipāṭhaka*, i.e. 'reciter of texts on morality', **Īśvaradevaśarmman**, of the Vātsya-gotra, and Bhārgava, Chyāvana, Āpnavat, Aurvva and Jāmadagnya *pravaras*. He was the son of Vanamālidevaśarmman, grandson of Garbbheśvaradevaśarmman and great-grandson of Parāsaradevaśarmman. The grant was made for 'the increase of the auspicious year' (*Subhavarsha*), i.e. 'the year of birth' and for the long life of the king (ll. 49-56). In line 57 the number 200 denotes the value of the land probably in terms of *dramma* as in the new copper-plate grant of Viśvarūpasena. The benedictory and imprecatory verses are given in lines 58-63. Then comes the last verse introducing the *dūta*, who is described as the prime minister of Gauda (v. 31). But his name is not legible. This is followed by the abbreviated form of official endorsement (ll. 64-65). (The **date** of the record, viz. the (regnal) year 3, the month of Jyaishtṥa and the . . . day, is given at the end (l. 65).)

What has proved extremely puzzling to scholars is verse 10 of the record which runs as follows :

पूर्वं जन्मशतेषु भूमिपतिना सन्त्यज्य सुक्तिग्रहं
नूनं तेन सुतार्थिना सुरधुनीतीरे भवः प्रीणितः ।

एतस्मात् कथमन्यथा रिपुवधूवैधव्यवद्वततो

विख्यातचित्तिपालमौलिरभवत् श्रीविश्वरूपो नृपः ॥

This verse forms part of a lengthy description of king Lakshmaṇasena who is herein referred to as *bhūmipati*. The pronominal word *etasmāt*, which follows, must also be taken as referring to him. The substance of the verse may be given thus: "In his previous births Lakshmaṇasena must have propitiated Śiva, otherwise how could the head of princes, king Viśvarūpa be born to him?" Evidently, the phrase *Śrīviśvarūpo nṛpaḥ* denotes his son, king Viśvarūpasena. According to Mr. R. D. Banerji, however, this interpretation is untenable. He would take *Viśvarūpa* as 'a surname and not a proper name'. "If we take it to be a proper name", says he, "we shall have to acknowledge that the word *etābhyām* in the 24th line refers to Viśvarūpa" and his wife. "Consequently in the Madanapādā grant we would have to admit that Viśvarūpasena was the son of king Viśvarūpa" (op. cit., p. 98). And similarly, according to Mr. Banerji, in the present copperplate, Viśvarūpasena would be made the father of Keśavasena. But both the conclusions are directly opposed to the internal evidence supplied by the prose portion of the two documents as well as the new plate of Viśvarūpasena, which unmistakably points out that they were both sons of Lakshmaṇasena. The question therefore naturally arises as to how the metrical portion of the respective documents be so interpreted as to be in perfect agreement with the data contained in the prose portion. Mr. Banerji's proposal to treat *Viśvarūpa* occurring in the aforesaid verse as an epithet does not simplify matters, since it can by no means be taken to be one of Vallālasena or of Lakshmaṇasena. The ablative in *etasmāt* definitely shows that, if an epithet at all, it must belong to the latter's son; and since the same verse occurs in all the three records and exactly in the same position, it stands to reason that it should be interpreted uniformly in all the cases. In each one of the verses, that intervene between the verse in question and *etābhyām* etc in line 24 (mentioning the birth either of Keśava as in the present copperplate or of Viśvarūpa as in the two other records), the king or his consort is referred to in terms of the pronoun *yad* e.g. *yatra*, *yasya*, *yena*, *yām*, etc. Thus the idea contained in these verses cannot have evidently any connection with, or reference to, the person or persons mentioned in the previous verses, but is necessarily dependent for its completion on the following verse (*etābhyām* etc.), in which the king and queen are denoted by the dual of the pronominal term *etad*. The construction of the intervening stanzas would not thus make it at all necessary to tag them on to the person;

who is described as *Viśvarūpa*, be it his epithet or name, in the stanza that precedes.

Verse 13 of this copperplate, *reḥyām dākṣiṇībhar* etc. records that Lakshmanasena proceeded on a conquering expedition to Benares and Allahabad in the North and to the seacoast in the South. A similar statement occurs also in verse 11 of the Mādhanagar grant (above p. 111), which credits him with a victory over Kāśi and Kalinga.

In verse 21, Keśavasena is eulogised as 'the day of destruction' to a certain line of Yavanas, i.e. Muhammadans. A word which has been read as *saganḍha* is found here prefixed to *Yavana*, whereas in the same verse in the Madanapāḍā grant it clearly reads *sagarga*. Mr. Jayaswal¹ equates *garga* with *Garjha*, i.e. Gharjistan, and is of opinion that this verse records a victory of Keśavasena over a party of raiders led by Muhammad Ghori. But there is nothing else in support of the statement.)

TEXT.

Obverse.

- 1 ॐ² नमो नारायणाय ॥ ³वन्देऽरविन्दवनवान्वमम्यकारकारानिवद्धभुवनत्रयमुक्ति-
हेतुम् । पर्यायविस्तृतसितामितपञ्चयुग्ममुद्यान्तम्-
- 2 इतुखगं निगमद्रुमस्य ॥ [1 *] ⁴पर्यस्तस्फटिकाचलां वसुमतौ विश्वग्विमुद्रीभवन्मुक्ता-
कुट्मलमश्विमस्वरतदोरन्यावनद्धं नभः उद्भिर्नामित-
- 3 मञ्जरोपरिचिता दिक्कामिनीः कल्पयन् प्रत्युन्मीलतु पुष्पशायकयशो जन्मान्तरञ्चन्द्रमाः ॥
[2 *] ⁵एतस्मात् क्षितिभारानमहशिरोद-
- 4 वीकरग्रामणीविश्राप्तोत्सवदानदीक्षितमुज्जास्ते भृशुजो जज्ञिरे । येषामप्रतिमल्ल-
विक्रमकथारव्यप्रवन्धाद्भूतव्याख्यानन्दः-
- 5 निद्रसान्द्रपलकैर्याप्ताः सदस्यैर्हिणः ॥ [3 *] ⁶अवातरदयान्वये महति तच्च देवः
स्वयं सुधाकिरणशेखरो विजयसेन इत्या-
- 6 ख्यया । यदघ्निनखधोरणिस्फुरितमौलयः क्षमाभजो दशास्यनतिविभ्रमं विदधिर
किलैकैकशः ॥ [4 *] ⁷नीलाश्वोरुहमा-
- 7 दरोऽपि दलयन्मर्माणि कादम्बिनीकान्ताऽपि ज्वलयन्मनांसि मधुपक्षिणोऽपि
तन्वन्भयम् । निष्किंताञ्जनमन्त्रि-

¹ J. B. O. R. S. 1918, p. 171.
Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

² Expressed by a symbol.

⁵ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

⁶ Metre : Prithivī.

⁷ Metre : Vasantatilaka.

⁷ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

- 8 भोऽपि जनयन्नेवकृत्तमं वैरिणां यस्याशेषजनाङ्गताय समरे कौत्सेयकः खेलति ॥ [5 *]
¹ईषन्निस्त्रिंशनिद्राविरहवि-
- 9 लसितैर्वैरिभूपालवंश्यानुच्छिद्योच्छिद्य मूलावधि भुवमखिलां शासतो यस्य राज्ञः ।
 आसीत्तेजोजिगीषा सह दि-
- 10 वसकरेणैव दोषस्तुलाभूद्भर्त्तवाशीविषाणामजनि दिगधिपेरैव सीमाविवादः । [6 *]
²खेलत्खड्गलतापमार्जनह-
- 11 तप्रत्यर्थिदर्पणज्वरस्तस्मादप्रतिमल्लकीर्तिरभव हल्लालसिनो नृपः । यस्यायोधन-
 सीन्नि शोणितसरिदुःमञ्जरा-
- 12 यां हृताः संसक्तहिपदन्तदण्डशिविकामारोप्य दैरिश्चियः³ ॥ [7 *] ⁴श्रीकान्तोऽपि
 न मायया बलिजयी वागोश्वरोऽप्यक्ष-
- 13 रं वक्तुं नैत्यपटुः कलानिधिरपि प्रोन्मुक्तदोषायहः । भोगोन्द्रोऽपि न जिह्वगैः
 परिवृतस्त्रैलोक्यरेखा-
- 14 इतस्तस्माल्लक्ष्मणसेनभूपतिरभूद्भूलोककल्पद्रुमः ॥ [8 *] ⁵प्रत्यूषे निगडस्वनै-
 द्रियमितप्रत्यर्थिपृथ्वीभुजां
- 15 मध्याह्ने जलपानमुक्तकरटिप्रोद्गालघण्टारवैः । सायं वेशविलासिनोजनरणम्ञ्जीर-
 मञ्जुस्वनैर्येनाका-
- 16 रि विभिन्नशब्दघटनावन्ध्वान्विसन्ध्यं नभः ॥ [9 *] ⁶पूर्वं जन्मशतेषु भूमिपतिना
 सन्त्यज्य मुक्तिग्रहं नूनं तेन सुतार्थिना सुरधुनीतीरे
- 17 भवः प्रोणितः । एतस्मात् कथमन्यथा रिपुवधवैधव्यवद्व्रतो विख्यातः क्षितिपालमौ-
 लिरभवत् श्रौविप्रवरूपो नृपः ॥ [10 *] ⁷न गग-
- 18 नतल एव शीतरश्मिर्न कनकभूधर एव कल्पशाखो । न विवुधपुर एव देवराजो
 विलसति यत्र धरावतारभाजि ॥ [11 *] ⁸वाह् वारणह-
- 19 स्तक्राण्डसट्टशौ वक्षः शिलासंहतं वाणाः प्राणहरा द्विषां मदजलप्रस्यन्दिनो दन्तिनः ।
 यस्यैतां समराङ्गप्रणयिनीं कृत्वा
- 20 स्थितिं वेधसा को जानाति कुतः कृतो न वसुधाचक्रेऽनुरूपो रिपुः ॥ [12 *]
⁹वेलायां दक्षिणाब्धेर्मुसलधरगदापाणिसंवासवे-
- 21 यां क्षेत्रे विश्वेश्वरस्य स्फुरदसिवरणाश्लेषगङ्गोर्मिभाजि । तीरोत्सङ्गे त्रिवेण्याः
 कमलभवमखारम्भनिर्व्विभाजपूतं ये-

¹ Metre : Sragdharā.⁴ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁷ Metre : Pushpitaḡrā.² Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁶ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁸ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.³ Bancrji reads *striyah*.⁶ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁹ Metre : Sragdharā.

- 22 नोक्ष्येयं यैः सह समरजयस्तन्ममाला न्यधाय ॥ [13 *] ¹यान्निर्माय पवित्र-
पाणिरभवद्देहाः सतीनां शिखारत्नं या किमपि
- 23 स्वरूपचरितैर्विश्वं ययालङ्कृतम् । लक्ष्मीभूरपि वाञ्छितानि विदधे यस्याः सपत्न्यौ
(महाराज्ञौ शौचान्द्रादेवौ स्व(त?)स्य)महिषौ
- 24 माभूच्चित्रगोचिता ॥ [14 *] ²एताभ्यां शशिशिखरगिरिजाभ्यामिव बभूव
शक्तिधराः । (शौ[किशव]सेनदेवः)प्रतिभटभूपालमुकुट-
- 25 मणिः ॥ [15 *] ³दृष्टिस्पर्शमवाप्य⁴ विश्वजयिना यस्य द्विजानां पयःपात्रेर्लोहम-
यैर्हिरण्यपदवो प्राप्तेति को विस्मयः । एतस्मिन्नपतो
- 26 प्रतापमहति प्रत्यर्थिपृथ्वीभुजां यत्पात्राणि हिरण्यमयान्यपि पुनः
यातान्ययोवर्णताम् ॥ [16 *] ⁵आकौमारमपारमङ्गरहस्यापार-
- 27 लण्णावशस्वान्तस्यास्य निगम्य वीरपरिषद्वन्द्यस्य दौर्विक्रमम् । नेदं नेदमिदञ्च नेति
चकितैर्दुर्गां प्रविश्य द्रुतं निर्गच्छद्भिर-
- 28 रातिभूपनिवहैर्भ्रास्यद्भिरैवास्यते ॥ [17 *] ⁶आकर्णायुलमेलकारविशिखच्छेपेः
समाजे द्विषां दानाभ्यः कणगर्भदर्भकलने गर्भि-
- 29 ष्ठेषु निष्ठावताम् । नीवोबन्धविसारणैः परिषदि तस्यत्कुरङ्गोदृशामव्यापारसुखासिकां
क्षणमपि प्राप्नोति नैतत्करः ॥ [18 *]
- 30 ⁷तापोच्छे⁸ परिशोलितैव सरितां कच्छयन्तीनीरदेर्नरिभ्युव नमस्तुष्टिमकलः
क्षमा भुवः क्षमारुहः । नीलग्रा-
- 31 वकदम्बकैरविरला भागीव विलावलो⁹लेखाभीददसोययज्ञहुतभुग्धूमावलो खेलति ॥
[19 *] ¹⁰कल्पक्षमारुहकाननानि कनकक्ष्माभृदि-

Reverse.

- 32 भागान्निधिं रत्नानां पुलिनान्तराणि च परिभ्रम्य प्रयासालसः । एतत्पादपयोधर-
प्रणयिनि च्छायावितानाञ्चले विश्राम्यन्ति सतामनि-
- 33 द्विदशोदुभ्रान्ता मनोवृत्तयः ॥ [20] ¹¹किमेतदिति विस्मयाकुलितलोकपालावली-
विलोकिताविशृङ्खलप्रधनजैतयात्राभरः । (शशाङ्क पृ-

¹ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.² Banerji reads *sthāna* instead of *sparsa*.³ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁴ Banerji reads *tūpicchhavi*.⁵ Banerji reads *muktāvalī*. Cf. however the new plate of Viśvarūpaśena.⁶ Metre : Āryā.⁷ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁸ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁹ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.¹⁰ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.¹¹ Metre : Prithvī.¹² Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.¹³ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.¹⁴ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.¹⁵ Metre : Prithvī.

- 34 थिवीमिमां प्रथितवीरवर्गाग्रणोः सगर्ग-यवनान्वय-प्रलयकालरुद्रो नृपः ॥ [21 *]
¹पद्मालयेति या ख्यातिर्लक्ष्म्या एव जगत्त्रये मरुस्वत्य-
- 35 पि तां लेभे यदाननकृतालया ॥ [22 *] ²अरुह्याभ्रंलिहृष्टहशिखामस्य सौन्दर्य-
 लेखां पश्यन्तोभिः पुरि विहरतः पौरसीमन्तिर्नोभिः ।
- 36 वार्त्ताकूतैर्नेयनचलितैर्विभ्रमं दर्शयन्त्यो दृष्टाः सख्यः क्षणविघटितप्रेमरुद्धैः
 कटाक्षैः ॥ [23 *] ³एतेनान्नतवेश्मसङ्कटभुवः सो-
- 37 तस्वतोसैकतक्रोडालोलमरालकोमलकलत्क्वाणप्रणातात्सवाः । विप्रेभ्यो ददिरि मही-
 मघवतानेकप्रतिष्ठाभृतः पाकप्रक्रमशा-
- 38 लिशालिशवलचेत्रोत्कटाः कर्क्वटाः ॥ [24 *] इह खलु फल्गुग्राम-परिसर-
 श्रीमज्जयस्कन्धावारात्समस्तस्वप्रशस्यपेत अरिराजवृष-
- 39 भशङ्करगौड़ेश्वर-श्रीमद्विजयसेनदेवपादानुध्यातसमस्तस्वप्रशस्यपेत अरिराज-
 निःशङ्कशङ्करगौड़ेश्वर-श्रीमद्वलालसेन-
- 40 देवपादानुध्यातसमस्तस्वप्रशस्यपेत ⁴अरिराजमदनशङ्कर-गौड़ेश्वर-श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणसेन-
 देवपादानुध्यातसमस्त-
- 41 स्वप्रशस्यपेत अश्वपतिगजपतिनरपतिराजत्रयाधिपतिसेनकुलकमलविकासभास्कर-
 सोमवंशप्रदोष-प्रतिपन्न
- 42 कर्ण सत्यव्रतगाङ्गेय-शरणागतवज्रपञ्जर-परमेश्वर-परमभट्टारक-महाराजाधिराज-
 अरिराज-अ-
- 43 सच्चशङ्कर-गाड़ेश्वरश्रीमत्केशवसेनदेवपादा विजयिनः ॥ समुपगताशेषराज-
 राजन्यक-राज्ञी-राणक राजपुत्र-रा-
- 44 जामात्य-महापुरोहित-महाधर्माध्यक्ष-महासाम्निविग्रहिक-महासेनापति-महादौः
 साधिक-चौरोद्वरणिकनीवलह-
- 45 स्त्यश्व-गोमहिषाजाविकादिव्यापृत-गौत्तिक-दण्डपाशिक-दण्डनायकविषयपत्या-
 दीनन्याय सकलराजपादोपजीविनो
- 46 ⁵अध्यक्षानध्यक्षप्रवरांश्च चट्टभट्टजातीयान् ब्राह्मणब्राह्मणोत्तरांश्च यथाह मानयन्ति
 बोधयन्ति समादिशन्ति च वि

¹ Metre : Anushtubh.

² Metre : Mandākrānta.

³ Metre : Sārdūlavikrīḍita.

⁴ Banerji reads *sūdana* for *madana*. But cf. the two other copper-plates for the correct form of the *virada*.

⁵ The letter *a* is superfluous

47 दितुमस्तु भवतां यथा पौण्ड्रवर्द्धनभुक्त्यन्तःपाति-वङ्गे विक्रमपुरभाग(मि)...

तालपडापाठक (:)

48 पूर्वे सत्रकाद्वीग्रामः सोमा दक्षिणे शाङ्करपाशागोविन्दकेलिनो भूः सोमा पश्चिमे पञ्चको.....शङ्करग्रामः सो-

49 मा उत्तरे वागुलीविस्तगदो. . . . मानभूः सोमा इत्यं यथाप्रसिद्धस्वसोमावच्छिन्ना वृहत्पतिचरणैः शुभव-

50 षष्ठ्यद्वौ दीर्घायुष्टकामनया¹ समुत्सगित साञ्जतन्दायोत्पत्तिक² सा रु³भूमिः सभाट-
विटपाः⁴ सगर्त्तापराः⁴ सजलस्थ

51 ला सखिलनाला⁵ सगुवाकनालिकेरा अचट्टमष्टप्रवेशा तणपूतिपर्यन्ता आचन्द्राक-
क्षितिसमकालं यावत् देवकुल-⁶

52 पुष्करिण्यादिकं कारयित्वा गुवाकनारिकेलादिकं लग्गावयित्वा पुत्रपौत्रादिसन्तति-
क्रमेण खच्छन्दोपभोगे-

53 नोपभोक्तुं वात्स्यसगोत्रस्य भार्गवच्यवन-आपुवान-श्रीर्व-जामदग्न्य-पञ्चप्रवरस्य
परासरदेवशर्मणः प्रपौत्रा-

54 य वत्समसगोत्रस्य तथा पञ्चप्रवरस्य गर्भेश्वरदेवशर्मणः पौत्राय वत्समसगोत्रस्य तथा
पञ्चप्रवरस्य वनमालिशर्मणः

55 पुत्राय वत्समसगोत्राय भार्गव-च्यवन-आपुवान श्रीर्व-जामदग्न्य-पञ्चप्रवराय नो(?)ति
पाठक(1)य⁷ श्रीईश्वरदेवशर्मण ब्रा-

56 ह्मणाय सदाशिवमुद्रया मुद्रयित्वा ततोयाब्दीय⁸ ज्यैष्ठदिना(नि) भूच्छिद्रन्यायेन.....
ताम्रशासनीकृत्य प्रदत्तास्माभिः

57 यत्र चतुःसोमावच्छिन्न सां शासनभू हि २०⁹ तद्ववङ्गिः सर्वैरेवानुमन्तव्यं भाविभिरपि-
नृपतिभिरपहरणं नरक-

58 पातभयात् पालने धर्म्मगौरवात् पालनीयम् ॥ भवन्ति चात्र धर्म्मानुगंसिनः श्रीकाः ।
¹⁰आस्फोटयन्ति पितरो बलायन्ति

59 पितामहाः भूमिदोऽस्मत्कुले जातः स नस्त्राता भविष्यति ॥ [25 *] ¹⁰भूमिं यः
प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति । उभौ तौ पुण्यक-

¹ Read *dirghāyushkāmanayā*.

² Read *ośharā*.

³ *dinam nānā*—Banerji. But cf. the new copper-plate of Viśvarūpasena, reverse, l. 26.

⁴ *śrutipāṭhaka*—Prinsep and Banerji. But the *ī* stroke in the first letter is very clear.

⁵ *śrutipāṭhaka*—Prinsep and Banerji. But cf. *chaturdaśāhīya*—*Bhādradīn* in the Madanapālā grant, l. 51.

⁶ Banerji follows Prinsep in reading the figure as 300. But the first sign is 2 and not 3.

¹⁰ Metro : Anuṣṭubh.

- 60 अर्णीयौ नियतं स्वर्गगामिनी ॥ [26 *] ¹बहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः ।
यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥ [27 *] ¹स्वद-
- 61 तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत् वसुधराम् । स विष्टायां कृमिभूत्वा पिष्टभिः सह
पच्यते ॥ [28 *] ¹षष्टिं वर्षेसहस्राणि स्वर्गं तिष्ठति भूमिदः ।
- 62 आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ [29 *] ²सर्व्वेषामेव दानानामेक-
जन्मानुगं फलम् । [30 *] ³इति कमलदलाम्बुविन्दुलोलां श्रिय-
- 63 मनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितञ्च । सकलमिदमुदाहृतञ्च बुध्वा न हि पुरुषैः परकोर्त्तयो
विलोप्याः ॥ [31 *] ⁴सचिवशतमौलिलालिता(तः) प-
- 64 दाम्बुजस्यानुशासने दूतः⁵ श्री⁶. . . . रभवन्नोडमहामहत्तकः[ख्यातः]⁷ ॥ [32*]
श्रीमन्महासाकरण नि श्रीमहामत्तक⁸. . .
- 65 करण नि ॥ श्रीमत् करणनौ (नि) ॥ सं ज्यैष्ठदिने . . .

TRASLATION.

Om. Om. Adoration to Nārāyaṇa.

(Verse 1). I adore him⁹, who is the friend of lotus-beds, the source of deliverance of the three worlds withheld in the prison of darkness and the wonderful bird of the tree of the Vedas, soaring high up on his two alternately expanding wings, of which one is white and the other black.¹⁰

(Verse 2). May the moon restore Bacchus to his fame in the next birth, making the earth full, as it were, of crystal mountains, the ocean overflowing with myriads of pearls, the sky flooded by the water of the Heavenly river and the several quarters appearing like ladies adorned with smiling flowers.

(Verse 3). From him were born kings, whose hands were trained in giving rest and recreation to the lord of serpents who bears on his head the burden of the earth. Their priests, who rejoiced in the marvellous interpretation of their unrivalled tales of heroism, filled up all the quarters of the globe.

(Verse 4). In that great family there arose **Vijayasena**, who was as it were the crescent-headed god (i.e. Śiva) himself. The kings bowing down to him had the brilliant flash of the (ten) nails of his feet reflected on their heads and (thus) each one of them looked like the Ten-headed one (Rāvaṇa) bowing down to him.

¹ Metre : Anushtubh

² Metre : Mālīni.

³ Part of a verse in Anushtubh metre.

⁴ Metre : Aryā.

⁵ *Śūsanabhūta*—Prinsep and Banerji.

⁶ *Śrīyutadattodbhava*—Prinsep and Banerji. Cf. *Śrī Kṛpīvishnurabhavarat* in the last verse of the Madanapāṇi¹¹

grant.

⁷ The last two letters are not clear.

⁸ *mahanuka*—Banerji.

⁹ I. E., the Sun.

¹⁰ I. E., the two fortnights.

(Verse 5). His sword played in the war to the astonishment of all people. Though resembling a blue lotus, it crushed the hearts (of men) ; though beautiful like a bank of clouds, it brought sufferance to minds ; though tender like the bee, it spread terror and though looking like painted collyrium (on eyes), it made the eyes of his enemies painful.

(Verse 6). He ruled over the whole earth, having uprooted all the inimical royal houses by the ceaseless play of his little sword. In point of glory his rival was the Sun-god himself ; his hand could stand comparison to the lord of serpents, and he entered into a boundary dispute with the lords of the cardinal points !

(Verse 7). From him was born **Vallālasena** of matchless fame, who by the touch of the creeping plant, namely, his sword, cured his opponents of their fever of arrogance. He carried away the fortune goddesses of his enemies on palanquins supported by staffs made of elephant's tusk, from the battlefield, which was made impassable on account of a stream of blood.

(Verse 8). From him sprang up **Lakshmaṇasena**, the Wishing Tree on the earth, who was a wonder to the three worlds. Though resembling the husband of Lakshmi (i.e. Viṣṇu), he did not defeat the strong¹ by strategy, though resembling the god of speech, he was not able to pronounce the syllable 'No', though the source of all the arts², he was spotless and though the chief of the opulent, he was not surrounded by the crooked.

(Verse 9). He used to make the sky filled with three different kinds of sound on three different occasions (during the day) : early in the morning, the jingle of the chains of the imprisoned kings, who were his adversarises ; at noon, the sound of the bells of elephants set free for drinking water ; and in the evening, the dulcet music arising from the anklets worn by courtezans.

(Verse 10). In hundreds of previous births that king, leaving aside all care for liberation, surely propitiated Śiva, on the banks of the Ganges, being desirous of having a son. Otherwise, how could be born to him the head of the princes, the illustrious king **Viśvarūpa**, who was determined to cause the widowhood of his enemies' wives ?

(Verses 11-13). On his (i.e. Lakshmaṇasena's) descent to the earth it seemed that the moon did not rest in the firmament alone, the Wishing Tree on the Golden Mountain, or the chief of the gods in the city of the gods. He possessed

¹ Here the reference is to the Dwarf incarnation of Viṣṇu in which he outwitted king Bali. The word *balin* is used here in a double sense.

² The word *kalānidhi* means also the moon who bears spots.

arms resembling the trunks of elephants, breast as hard as stone, arrows fatal to his enemies and tuskers exuding ichor (from their temples). Who knows why the creator, although he eagerly waited in his battle-field, did not bring into this world 'a foeman worthy of his steel' ? By him were planted pillars commemorating military victory, along with lofty sacrificial posts, on the coast of the Southern sea near the altar on which dwell the club-handed (god) and (the god) with a mace in his hand, at the site of **Viśveśvara** touched by the waves of the Ganges, embraced by the rivers Asi and Varanā in trepidation, and on the banks of the Three Rivers truly sanctified by Vedic sacrifices.

(Verse 14). That crest-jewel of ladies, after creating whom the god Brahmā considered his hands as sacred, who by her charms and conduct adorned the Universe and whose desires were fulfilled by the co-wives Earth and Fortune, -namely that 'great queen' **Chāndrādevī**, who was able to attain 'the three objects' (viz. *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma*), became his chief consort.

(Verse 15). From this couple was born, as Kārttikeya from Śiva and Pārvatī, **Keśavasena**, the crown-jewel of his adversaries.

(Verse 16). Since the water-vessels of the Brahmanas made of iron turned into gold at a mere glance of this universal conqueror there is no wonder that the vessels of gold of his opposing princes should turn into iron in his presence.

(Verse 17). Ever since his youth he had a thirst for various military pursuits. The multitude of inimical kings hearing of the strength of his arms, which was eulogised by heroes, were alarmed, muttering "No, no, this is not so". Now they would enter their fortresses and again come out immediately ; thus they would keep on moving about.

(Verse 18). His hands did not even for a moment find pleasure in inactivity. They would be kept engaged in discharging arrows drawn up to his ear when he is surrounded by foes, in handling the *darbha* grass soaked in water for consecrating gift in the assembly of the religious-minded and in loosening the girdles, when he is in the company of the bashful and deer-eyed ones (i.e. ladies):

(Verse 19). The smoke of his sacrificial fire used to be constantly spreading over (the earth), and the river banks appeared as if they were overgrown with Tamāla trees, the sky, as if enveloped in dense clouds, the trees as if covered by emeralds and the line of the seashore, laden with a multitude of sapphires.

(Verse 20). The distressed minds of good men having wandered about in the

forests of Kalpa trees, in the region of Golden Mountains, in mines of gems and along the different shores, have become tired on account of sleeplessness, and fed up with exertion are at last enjoying rest under the shadow of his cloudlike feet.

(Verse 21). While leading their warlike expeditions for gaining booty, the kings beheld him and were put into confusion, exclaiming, "O! what has befallen." That king, the chief among illustrious heroes, ruled this earth, and to the race of the **Garga-Yavanas** he was as it were the god Rudra, on the day of Destruction.

(Verse 22). Having made in his mouth her place of residence, the goddess of learning gained the title, *Padmālayā*, i.e. 'denizen of the lotus', by which Lakshmī (alone) had hitherto been known in the three worlds.

(Verse 23). When he would be passing through the city, the ladies of the city ascending on the tops of skyscraping houses would gaze upon his beautiful appearance and cast loving but reproachful glances at their female friends, displaying coquetry by the movement of their eyes, expressive of sensuality.

(Verse 24). By this Indra of the earth were given to the Brāhmaṇas, many famous villages, which were crowded with lofty buildings, and joyful on account of the sweet and melodious sound made by the geese restlessly sporting about on river banks. These villages had smooth fields, growing excellent paddy.

(Ll. 38-43). Now, here, from the camp of victory situated at **Phalgugrāma**, the lord of **Gauḍa**, the *Parameśvara*, the *Paramabhāṭāraka*, the devout worshipper of the Sun, the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the *Arirāja-asahya-Saṅkara*, the illustrious **Keśavasena**, the victorious, endowed with his usual titles, 'the suzerain over the threefold lord' viz. *Aśvapati*, *Gajapati* and *Narapati*, the sun who expands with his rays the lotus-like **Sena** family, the lamp of the Soma lineage, the person who is regarded a (second) Karna, as much devoted to truth as the offspring of Gaṅgā and a secure refuge for those who seek his protection; who meditates on the feet of the illustrious **Lakshmaṇasena**, the *Arirāja-Madana-Saṅkara*, the lord of Gauḍa, endowed with his usual titles, who again meditated on the feet of the illustrious **Vallālasena**, the *Arirāja-niḥsaṅka-Saṅkara*, the lord of Gauḍa, endowed with his usual titles, meditating on the feet of the illustrious **Vijayasena**, the *Arirājavṛishabha-Saṅkara*, the lord of Gauḍa, endowed with his usual titles—

(Ll. 43-46) duly pays his compliments to, informs and orders those that are present, namely, all the *Rājans*, *Rājanyakas*, queens, *Rāṇakas*, the princes and

ministers, the *Mahāpurohita*, *Mahādharmādhyaksha*, *Mahāsāndhivigrahika*, *Mahāsenāpati*, *Mahādarūṣādhika*, *Chauroddharanika*, officers engaged over the fleet, army, elephants, horses, cows, buffaloes, goats, sheep etc., as well as the *Gaulmikas*, *Dandapāśikas*, *Dandanāyakas*, *Vishayapatis*, and others, all who are dependant on His Majesty, the superintendents of Departments and their heads, those who belong to the class of *Chattas* and *Bhattas*, the Brāhmaṇas and their chiefs ;

(Ll. 46-50). Be it known to you that **Tālapaḍā-pāṭaka**, which is in **Vikramapura** in **Vaṅga**, situated within **Paunḍravarddhanabhukti**, bounded by its wellknown boundaries viz., the village of Sattrakādvī to the east, the boundaries of the land belonging to (the villages) Śāṅkarapāśā and Govindakelī¹ to the south,.....the village of Śāṅkara to the north and Bāgulivittagada.... to the west, is given away by His Highness the king, on the occasion of 'the auspicious year'², with the intention of attaining long life,

(L. 56) by means of a copper-plate charter, to which is affixed the seal of Sadāśiva, according to the principle of *bhūmichchhidra*, in the month of **Jyaishṭha** of the **second regnal year**,

(Ll. 53-56) to the Brāhmaṇa, **Īśvaradevaśarmman**, the reciter of moral texts, having the five *pravaras* viz. Bhārgava, Chyāvana, Āpnuvāna, Aurvva and Jāmadagnya, belonging to Vātsya gotra, who was a son of Vanamālīdevaśarmman of the five *pravaras* and Vātsya gotra, grandson of Garbbheśvaradevaśarmman of the five *pravaras* and Vātsya gotra and great-grandson of Parāsaradevśarmman who also had the five *pravaras* viz. Bhārgava, Chyāvana, Āpnuvāna, Aurvva and Jāmadagnya and belonged likewise to the Vātsya gotra, so that

(Ll. 50-53) the land which would eternally yield revenue, together with forest and branches, pits and barren tracts, land and water, waste and arable land, betelnut and cocoanut trees and which is not to be entered by *Chattas* and *Bhattas*, together with even grass and *pūti* plant, might be peacefully enjoyed by him, as well as his son, grandson and other descendants, as long as the sun, moon and the earth endure, having (thereon) erected temples, excavated tanks and so on, and planted betelnut, cocoanut and other trees.

(Ll. 57-58). The value of the land bounded on four sides is 200 (*drammas*).³ So you should all give your assent to this (charter) ; and future kings also should protect it, considering that its taking away entails the fear of falling into Hell

¹ Names of villages in Bengal beginning with the name of a deity and ending in *pāśā* and *kelī* are wellknown.

² I. E. birthday celebration according to Mr. Banerji. See *J.A.S.B.*, N.S. Vol. X, p. 99, n. 1.

³ Cf. the Sāhitya-Parishat copper-plate, below.

and its protection leads to great merit. There are also scriptural stanzas enjoining *Dharma*, in this matter.

[Here follow six of the customary verses and a half, for whose translation see above].

(Verse 32). The Prime-minister of **Gauḍa**.¹ was the *dūta*, engaged in the service of the lotus feet (of the king), which are caressed by the heads of a hundred ministers.

(Ll. 64-65). Passed by the clerk of the illustrious *Mahāsāṇḍhivigrahika*,² by the clerk of the Prime-minister and by the clerk of the illustrious one (i.e. the king)³.

✓(L. 65). The year 3, the month of Jyaishṭha.

¹ The name of the officer cannot be read. But cf. Madanapādā plate, last verse.

² In the original there is only *Mahāsā* which is an abbreviation for *Mahāsāṇḍhi-vigrahika*.

³ The term *śrīmat* used here is rather vague, but may denote the king. Cf. *Śrīni* used in other inscriptions in this connection; above p. 64.

XIV. MADANAPĀDĀ COPPER-PLATE OF VIŚVARŪPASENA.

In the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, for 1896, part I, pp. 6-15 and plates, this copper-plate was edited by Mr. Nagendra Nath Vasu, who recorded its discovery in the following terms : "In the village **Madanapādā**, Post Office Pinjāri, Parganāh Kotālīpāḍa of the Faridpur district, a peasant whilst digging his field found a copper-plate and made it over to the land-holder, who kept it in his house. This plate was made over to me by Paṇḍita Lakshmī Candra Sāṁkhyatīrtha, in 1892" (*op. cit.*, p. 6). Subsequently, the copper-plate appears to have been acquired by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. But it is now missing from its Collection, like the Edilpur plate.

This is a **single plate**, measuring $12\frac{1}{2}$ " by 10" and is engraved on both sides. It bears the usual seal at the top, representing Sadāśiva, and the seal is called *Sadāśiva-mudrā* in line 50. The writing consists of 60 lines of which thirty are incised on the obverse and thirty on the reverse. The **characters**, which are typical of the locality and period to which they belong, show the same stage of development as in the Edilpur copper-plate. The **language** is Sanskrit. After the usual formula *om om namo Nārāyaṇāya* the record contains twenty stanzas (ll. 1-31) which are common to the aforesaid grant.¹ From line 31 up to the beginning of line 53 the text is in prose. This is followed by seven verses (ll. 53-59). The remaining portion of the text (ll. 59-60) is again in prose. The verses, altogether twentyseven in number, are composed in a variety of metres *viz.* Vasantatilaka, Śārdūlavikrīḍita, Prithvī, Sragdharā, Pushpitāgrā, Mandākrāntā, Anuṣṭubh, Mālinī and Āryā. The **orthography** is practically the same as in other documents of the period. The inscription is one of 'the suzerain of the three lords' *e.g.* *Aśvapati*, *Gajapati* and *Narapati*, 'the sun of the lotus-like Sena family,' 'the lamp of the Soma lineage,' the *Paramēśvara*, *Paramabhattachāraka*, 'the devout worshipper of the sun,' the *Mahārājadhīrāja*, the lord of **Gauḍa**, the illustrious **Viśvarūpasena**, having the surname *Arirāja-Vṛishabhāṅka-Śaṅkara*, who 'meditated on the feet of' the *Arirāja-Madana-Śaṅkara*, the lord of **Gauḍa**, the illustrious **Lakshmaṇasena**, who 'meditated on the feet of' the *Arirāja-niḥśaṅka-Śaṅkara*, the lord of **Gauḍa**, the illustrious **Vallālasena**, who again 'meditated on the feet of' the *Arirāja-Vṛishabha-Śaṅkara*, the lord of **Gauḍa**, the illustrious **Vijayasena** (ll. 32-38).

¹ Verses 12, 16, 18 and 19 of the Edilpur grant are wanting in this record. They occur, however, in the second copper-plate of Viśvarūpasena.

(This record, like the Edilpur one, was issued from 'the camp of victory' situated at **Phalgugrāma** (l. 31). The grant consisted of the village of **Piñjokāśthi**, in two plots, yielding a revenue of 627 *purāṇas* (ll. 45, 52).) It was made over to the Brāhmaṇa Viśvarūpadevaśarmman, a reciter of moral texts, great-grandson of Parāśaradevaśarmman, grandson of Garbbheśvaradevaśarmman, and son of Vanamālidevaśarmman, having the five *pravaras*, Bhārgava, Chyavana, Āpnuvata, Aurvva and Jāmadagnya, and belonging to the Vātsya *gotra*. (The village was situated in the **Vikramapura** division (*bhāga*) of **Vaṅga** which lay within the **Paundravardhana-bhukti** (ll. 42-50). The gift was made in the month of **Bhādra** of the **14th regnal year** (l. 51), but it was finally executed on the **1st day of Āśvina** of the year (l. 60).) The customary stanzas are introduced in ll. 53-58. The name of the *dūta* of the grant, Kopivishṇu, the *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* of Gauḍa, is mentioned in the last verse (v. 27). The charter was passed by the respective offices of the *Mahāsāndhivigrahika*, the *Mahāmahattaka* and also of the king himself, as stated in the wellknown abbreviated formula at the end, in ll. 59-60.

(This charter and the Edilpur grant belong to one and the same family as the genealogies of the two donees agree, Viśvarūpadevaśarmman being the brother of Īśvaradevaśarmman of the Edilpur grant.) The reading of the name of **Lakshmaṇasena's** queen calls for some remarks. In the Edilpur grant, so far as Prinsep's facsimile goes, it looks like 'Chāndrādevī.' Mr. Vasu reads 'Tāndrā' in the present record; but the second letter appears to be more like *dā* than *ndrā*. In the new copper-plate of Viśvarūpasena, again, there occurs a rather unusual name which, according to M. M. Haraprasād Śāstrī, should be read as 'Taṭṭana.' It is difficult to say which of these is the correct form of the queen's name.

(Of the localities mentioned in the inscription Mr. Vasu identifies Piñjokāśthi with Piñjāri, 'a postal village in the Parganāh Koṭālīpāḍa, near the village of Madanapāḍa, where the grant was found.' In view of this identification it is impossible to agree with those who regard Vikramapura of the copper-plates as different from the modern Vikrampur in Eastern Bengal and propose to locate it elsewhere.)

TEXT.

Obverse.

ॐ३ ॐ नमो नारायणाय ॥

1 ३ वन्देऽरविन्दवनबाभ्यवमभकारकारानिवहभुवनवयमुक्तिहेतुम् ।

पर्यायविस्तृतसि-

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 8.

² Expressed by symbol.

³ Metre : Vasantatīlaka.

- 2 तासितपक्षयुग्ममुद्यान्तमहुतखगं निगमद्रुमस्य ॥ [1 *] ¹पर्यस्तस्फटिकाचला वसुमतीं
विश्वग्विमुर्द्रीभवन्सुक्ताकुञ्जलमब्धिम-
- 3 स्वरनदीवन्नावनङं नभः । उद्भिन्नचित्तमश्चरोपरिचिता दिक्कामिनोः कल्पयन्
प्रत्यम्बोलतु पुष्पसायकयशो जन्मान्तरं
- 4 चन्द्रमाः ॥ [2 *] ²एतस्मात् चित्तिभारनिःसहशिरोदर्बीकरयामणौविद्यामोत्-
सवदानदीक्षितभुजास्ते भूभुजो जज्ञिरे । येषामप्र-
- 5 ³तिमङ्गविक्रमकथारब्धप्रबन्धाङ्गतव्याख्यानन्दविनिद्रसान्द्रपुलकैर्व्यासाः
सदस्येर्द्दिशः ॥ [3 *] ⁴अवातरदधान्वये महति तत्र देवः
- 6 स्वयं सुधाकिरणशेखरो विजयसेन इत्याख्यया । यदंघ्रिनखधोरणिस्फुरितमौलयः
क्ष्माभुजो दशास्यनतिविभ्रमं विद-
- 7 धिरे किलैकैकसः ॥ ⁵[4 *] ⁶नोलान्मोरुहसोदरोपि दलयन्मर्माणि कादम्बिनी-
कान्तोपि ज्वलयन्मर्मांसि मधुपस्त्रिधोपि तन्वन् भ-
- 8 यम् । निष्पिक्ताञ्जनसन्निभोपि जनयन्नेत्रकृमं ⁷वैरिणां यस्याशिषजनाङ्गताय समरे
कौक्षेयकः खेलति ॥ [5 *] ⁸ईषद्विस्त्रिंशनि-
- 9 द्राविरहविलसितैर्वैरिभूपालवंश्यानुच्छिद्योच्छिद्य मूलावधि भुवमखिलां शासतो यस्य
राज्ञः । आसीत्तेजोजिगीषा सह दिव-
- 10 सकरेणैव दोष्णस्तुलाभूङ्गर्त्तवाशीविषाणामजनि दिग्धिपैरेव सोमाविवादः ॥
[6 *] ⁹खेलत्खङ्गलतापमार्जनकृतप्रत्यर्थि-
- 11 दर्पञ्जर स्तस्मादप्रतिममङ्गकीर्तिरभवद्दल्लालसेनो नृपः यस्यायोधनसौमि
शोणितसरिदुःसञ्चरायां हताः संसक्तद्विप-
- 12 दन्तदण्डशिविकामारोप्य वैरिभ्रियः ॥ [7 *] ¹⁰शोकान्तोपि न मायया वसिजयो
वागीश्वरोप्यक्षरं वक्तुं नेत्यपटुः कलानिधिरपि ^{10a} ॥
- 13 प्रोन्मुक्तदोषाग्रहः । भोगीन्द्रोपि न जिह्वागैः परिष्ठतस्त्रै लोक्वरेखाङ्गतस्तस्माल्लक्ष्मण-
सेन भूपतिरभूङ्गलोककल्पद्रुमः ॥ [8 *]
- 14 ¹¹प्रत्यूषे निगङ्गस्वनैर्नियमितप्रत्यर्थिभूमौभुजां मध्याङ्गे जलपानमुक्तकरटिप्रोद्दाल-
घण्टारवेः । सायं वेशविलासिनोज-
- 15 नरणमञ्जोरमञ्जुस्वनैर्यनाकारि विभिन्नशब्दघटनावन्धं त्रिसन्धां नभः ॥ [9*]
¹²पूर्वं जन्मशतेषु भूमिपतिना सन्त्यज्य मुक्तिय-

¹ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.² Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.³ Vasu reads manda.⁴ Metre : Prithvi.⁵ Read aikabāh.⁶ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁷ Metre : Śragdharā.⁸ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁹ Vasu reads kramam.^{10a} This sign is unnecessary.¹¹ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.¹⁰ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.¹² Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

- 16 हं नूनं तेन सुतार्थिना सुरधुनोतीरे हरः प्रीणितः । एतस्मात् कथमन्यथा रिपुबधू-
ध्व्यबहवतो विख्यातक्षितिपालमौ-
- 17 लिरभवत् श्रीविश्वरूपो नृपः ॥ [10*] ¹न गगनतल एव शीतरश्मिः न
कनकभूधर एव कल्पशाखी न विबुधपुर एव देवराजो
- 18 विलसति यत्र धरावतारभाजि ॥ [11*] ²वेलायां दक्षिणाब्धे र्मसलधरगदा-
पाणिंवासवेद्यां क्षेत्रे विश्वेश्वरस्य स्फुरदसिवर-
- 19 णाश्लेषगङ्गोर्मिभाजि । तोरोत्सङ्गे त्रिवेण्याः कमलभवमखारभनिर्व्याजपूते येनोच्चै
र्यज्ञयूपैः सह समरजयस्त-
- 20 भमाला न्यधायि ॥ [12*] ³यां निर्माय पवित्रपाणिरभवहेधाःसतोथाः शिखारत्नं
या किमपि स्वरूपचरितैर्विष्वं ययालङ्कृतम् ।
- 21 लक्ष्मीभरपि वाञ्छितानि विदधे यस्याः सपत्न्यौ महाराज्ञौ श्रीताडादेवि⁴ तदस्य
महिषी साभूक्षिवर्गोचिता ॥ [13*] ⁵एताभ्यां शशिशेख-
- 22 रगिरिजाभ्यामिव बभूव शक्तिधरः । श्रीविश्वरूपसेनदेव प्रतिभटभूपालमुकुट-
मणिः ॥ [14*] ⁶आकौमारमपारमङ्गरभरव्यापा-
- 23 रत्नणावशस्त्रांतस्यास्य निशम्य वीरपरिषदस्य दोर्विक्रमम् । नेदं नेदमिदञ्च
नेति चकितैर्दुर्गं प्रविश्य द्रुतं निर्गच्छ-
- 24 झिररातिभूपनिवहेभ्राम्यझिरेवास्यते ॥ [15*] ⁷कल्पस्मारकहकाननानि कनकस्मा-
भृद्धिभागान्निधिं रत्नानां पुलिनान्तराणि च परि-
- 25 भ्रम्य प्रयासालसाः । एतत्पादपयोधरप्रणयिनि च्छायावितानाञ्चले विश्राम्यन्ति
सतामनिद्रविदशोद्गान्ता मनोवृत्तयः ॥ [16*]
- 26 ⁸किमेतदिति विस्मयाकुलितलोकपालावलो-विलोकितविशृङ्खलप्रधनजैत्रजात्राभवः⁹ ।
शशास पृथिवीमिमां प्रथितवीरव-
- 27 गर्ग्यणीः स गर्गयवनान्वयप्रलयकालरुद्रो नृपः ॥ [17*] ¹¹पद्मालयेति या
ख्यातिर्लक्ष्म्या एव जगन्त्रये । सरस्वत्यपि तां लेभे यदामन-
- 28 क्तालया ॥ [18*] ¹²पारुद्धाभ्रंलिङ्गहृद्दृष्टिखामस्य सौन्दर्यरेखां पश्यन्तीभिः पुरि
विहरतः पौरसीमन्तिनीभिः । वार्त्ताकृतैर्नय-

¹ Metro : Pushpitāgrā.² Vasu reads *Tāndrā*. Read *devi*.³ Vasu reads *śrī-Viṣva*. The letters⁴ Vasu reads *śrī-Viṣva*. The letters *Viṣvarūpa* in l. 38 are engraved in a different hand and smaller in size. Mr. Banerji thinks that "a name with three syllables was originally inscribed; later on it was erased and the name *Viṣvarūpa*, with four syllables substituted for it"—J. A. S. B., 1914, p. 98.⁵ Metro : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁶ Metro : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁷ Metro : Prithvi.⁸ Read *yātrā*. Vasu reads *bharah*.⁹ Metro : Anuṣṭubh.¹⁰ Metro : Mandākrāntā.¹¹ Metro : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.¹² Metro : Śragdharā.¹³ Metro : Āryā.

- 29 नवलितैर्विभ्रमं दर्शयन्थो दृष्टाः¹ सत्यः क्षणविघटितप्रेमरुचैः कटाक्षैः ॥ [19 •]
² एतेनोन्नतवेश्मसङ्कटभुवः स्रोतस्वतो-
 30 सैकतक्रौडालोलमरालकोमलकलत्काणप्रणीतोत्सवाः । विप्रेभ्यो ददिरे मञ्जीमघवता³
 नाकप्रतिष्ठाभृतः प्राक् प्र-

Reverse.

- 31 क्रमशालिशालिशवलचेत्रोत्कटाः कर्व्वटाः ॥ [20 *] इह खलु फल्गु ग्राम-
 परिसरसमावासितश्रीमज्जयस्कन्धावारात् सम-
 32 स्तस्वप्रशस्त्युपेत अरिराजवृषभशङ्करगौडेश्वर-श्रीमहजयसेनदेवपादानुध्यात-
 समस्तस्वप्रशस्त्युपेत अरिराज-
 33 निःशङ्कशङ्कर-गौडेश्वर-श्रीमङ्गलालसेनदेवपादानुध्यात समस्तस्वप्रशस्त्युपेत
 अश्वपतिगजपतिनरपतिराजत्रयाधि-
 34 पति-सेनकुलकमलविकासभास्कर सोमवंशदीपप्रतिपन्नकर्ण सत्यव्रतगाङ्गेय-शरणा
 गतवज्रपञ्चर-परमेश्वर-
 35 र-परमभट्टारक-परमसौर-महाराजाधिराज अरिराज-मदनशङ्कर-गौडेश्वर-
 श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणसेनदेवपादानुध्या-
 36 त अश्वपतिगजपतिनरपतिराजत्रयाधिपति-सेनकुलकमलविकासभास्कर-सोमवंश
 प्रदीपप्रतिपन्नकर्ण सत्यव्र-
 37 तगाङ्गेय-शरणागतवज्रपञ्चर-परमेश्वर-परमभट्टारक-परमसौर-महाराजाधिराज-
 अरिराजवृषभ(१)शङ्कर-
 38 गौडेश्वर-श्रीमत्विश्वरूपसेन⁴देवपादा विजयिनः । समुपगताशेषराजन्यक-रात्रो-
 राणक-राजपुत्र-राजामात्य-म-
 39 ह्यपुरोहित-महाधर्माध्यक्ष-महासान्निविग्रहिक-महासेनापति-दौःसाधिक-
 चौरोद्धरणिक-नौवलहस्त्यश्व-गोम-
 40 ह्विषाजाविकादिव्यापृत-गौत्तिक-दण्डपाशिक-दण्डनायक-विषयपत्यादोनन्यांश्च
 सकलराजपादोपजीविनोऽध्यक्ष-
 41 प्रवरान् चट्टभट्टजातीयान् ब्राह्मणान् ब्राह्मणोत्तरांश्च यथाहं मानयन्ति बोधयन्ति
 समादिशन्ति विदितमस्तु भवतां य-

¹ Vasu reads *trishnāh*.² Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.³ Vasu reads *mahā*.⁴ The letters *Viśvarūpa* are engraved in a different hand and smaller size.

- 56 तस्य तदा फलम् ॥ [23 *] षष्टिवषसहस्राणि स्वर्गं तिष्ठति भूमिदः ।
आक्षेपा चानुमत्ताच तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ [24 *] स्वद-
- 57 तां परदत्तां वा यो हरत वसुन्धराम् । स विष्ठायां क्रमिभूर्त्वा पिबेभिः सह पश्यते ॥
[25 *]¹ इति कमलदलाख्विन्दुलो-
- 58 लां श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितञ्च । सकलमिदमुदाहृतञ्च बुध्वा नहि पुरुषैः
परकीर्त्तयो विलोप्याः ॥ [26 *]² सचिव-
- 59 शतमौलिलालितपदाम्बुजस्यानुशासने दूतः । श्रीकोपिविष्णुरभवत् गौडमहासांख्य-
विग्रहिकः ॥ [27 *] श्रीमन्महा
- 60 सा करणनि ॥ ओमहामहत्तक करणनि । श्रीमत् करणनि ॥ सं १४ आश्विनदिने १

TRANSLATION.

[For verses 1-13 see above pp. 126-27].

(Verse 14). From this couple was born, as Kārttikeya from Śiva and Pārvatī, Viśvarūpasena, the crest-jewel of his adversaries.

[For verses 15-20, ll. 31-37 and ll. 38-41 see above pp. 128-29].

(L. 38). The *Parameśvara*, *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka*, 'devout worshipper of the Sun,' *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Arirāja-Vṛishabhāṅka-Saṅkara*, lord of Gauda, the illustrious Viśvarūpasena orders :

(Ll. 41-51). Be it known to you that the village of Piñjokāshṭī, in the Vikramapura section of Vaṅga, within the Paundra-vardhana-bhukti, divided in two plots and yielding an (annual) income of six-hundred and twenty-seven *purāṇas*, viz. (1) land in the Piñjokāshṭī village having the following four boundaries : to the east, the embankment³ of the village of Aṭhapāga, to the south, the village of Bāraipadā, to the west, the village of Uñchokāshṭī and to the north, the embankment of the village of Virakāṭṭī *Kandarpaśaṅkara*⁴ of which the total income is 500 including 132 on account of.... and (2) in the land of *Kandarpaśaṅkara* of which the income is 127 (?)⁵ Thus the village of Piñjoṭhā having the aforesaid four boundaries, together with land and water, forests and branches, barren land, betelnut and cocoanut trees, and even grass and *pūti* plant is granted by Us,

¹ Metro : Mālinī.

² Metro : Āryā.

³ The word *jaṅghāla* probably denotes the same as modern Bengali *jaṅgāl* e.g. *Bhimer jaṅgāl* (near Mahāsthān in Bogra District, North Bengal).

⁴ This word seems to be the same as *Madanaśaṅkara* i.e. Lakshmapasena, and may refer to some land which was either called after his name or was his personal property. This portion of the text being extremely corrupt and full of scribal mistakes it is difficult to say what is actually intended.

⁵ In the published facsimile I can read only '27,' although '127' must have been in the original draft ; because 627 is the total income from the two plots (l. 52), and 500, from one of them (l. 44).

- 42 वा पौण्ड्रवर्द्धनभुक्त्यन्तःपाति -वङ्गे विक्रमपुरभागे पूर्वे अठपागग्रामजङ्गलभूः
सीमा दक्षिणे वारयौपङ्गाग्रामभूः सी-
- 43 मा पश्चिमे उञ्चोकाष्टोग्रामभूः सीमा उत्तरे वीरकाटीजङ्गलसीमा इत्यं
चतुःसीमावच्छिन्नः पिञ्चोकाष्टोग्राममध्यात् कन्दर्पाशङ्करा-
- 44 ग्रामीय (?) पदातिश्रधामार्क्या (?) हात्रिंशत्पराणोत्तरत्वी (त्रिंशतिक (?) १३२ सहिः
सी भूहि ५०० तथा कन्दर्पाशङ्कराशभूमौ नारण्डपग्रामे....
- 45 त्रि १२७ (?)¹ हाभ्या²सप्तविंशतिपुराणाधिक सच्छिन्ना (?) षट् शतिकोत्पत्तिकपिञ्चो-
काष्टोग्रामः सजलस्थलः सभाटविटपः³ सोषरभगुवाकनारिकेलस्तृणपू-
- 46 तिपूर्व्वान्त उपरोक्लिखित चतुःसि(सी)मावच्छिन्नपिञ्चोठाग्रामोऽयं शिवपुराणोक्त-
भूमिदानफ-
- 47 लप्राप्तिकामनया वत्ससगोत्रस्य भार्गव-अयन-आप्र, वतश्रीर्व-जामदग्न्यप्रवरस्य
परासरदेवशर्म्भणः प्रपौत्राय व-
- 48 त्ससगोत्रस्य भार्गव-अयन-आप्र, वत-श्रीर्व-जामदग्न्यप्रवरस्य गर्भेश्वरदेवशर्म्भणः
पौत्राय वत्ससगोत्राय भार्गव-
- 49 अयन-आप्र, वतश्रीर्व-जामदग्न्यप्रवरस्य वनमालिदेवशर्म्भणः पुत्राय वत्ससगोत्राय
भार्गवअयनआप्र, वत-
- 50 श्रीर्व-जामदग्न्यप्रवराय यातिपाटकाय⁴ श्रीविश्वरूपदेवशर्म्भणे ब्राह्मणाय विधिव-
दुत्सृज्य सदाशिवमुद्रया⁵ सु-
- 51 द्रयित्वा भूच्छिद्रन्यायेन चतुर्दशयाब्दीयभाद्रदिनाः ताम्रशासनीकृत्य प्रदत्तो-
ऽस्माभिः । यत्न चतुःसीमावच्छि-
- 52 न्न सां शासनभूहि ६२७ तद्ववद्भिः सर्वैरेवानुमन्तव्यं भाविभिरपि नृपतिभिरपहरणे
नरकपातभ-
- 53 यात् पालने धर्म्मगौरवात् पालनीयम् । भवन्ति चात्र धर्म्मानुशंसिनः श्लोकाः ॥
'आस्कोटयन्ति पितरो वलाय-
- 54 न्ति पितामहाः । भूमिदोऽस्मत्कुले जातः स नस्त्राता भविष्यति ॥ [21 *]
'भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति । उभौ
- 55 तौ पुण्यकर्म्माणौ नियतं स्वर्गगामिनी ॥ [22 *] 'बहुभिर्व्यसुधा दत्ता राजभिः
सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य

¹ This portion is not read by Vasu. The first numeral sign is not legible. But the signs for 2 and 7 are legible enough.

² Vasu reads *trihṣati*.

³ Vasu restores it as *śruti-pāthakāya* evidently on the basis of the reading in the Edilpur plate. But the correct restoration is probably *nīlipāthakāya*.

⁴ Vasu reads *śrī-Sadāśiva*. But the syllable *śrī* does not occur in the original.

⁵ Read *Bhadrādine*. Read *chaturdaśābdiya*.

⁶ VV. 23—25, metre : Anuṣṭubh.

with a view to acquire the fruits of landgrant as enumerated in the *Sivapurāṇa*, to the Brāhmana Viśvarūpadevaśarmman, a reciter of moral texts¹, belonging to the Vātsya gotra and Bhārgava-Chyavana-Āpnuvata-Aurva-Jāmadagnya pravaras, great-grandson of Parāsaradevaśarmman, of the Vātsya gotra and Bhārgava-Chyavana-Āpnuvata-Aurva-Jāmadagnya pravaras, grandson of Garbbheśvaradevaśarmman, of the Vātsya gotra and Bhārgava-Chyavana-Āpnuvata-Aurva-Jāmadagnya pravaras and son of Vanamālidevaśarmman, of the Vātsya gotra and Bhārgava-Chyavana-Āpnuvata-Aurva-Jāmadagnya pravaras, according to the principle of *bhūmichchhidra*, having duly consecrated the gift and affixing the Sadāśiva-seal to the copper-plate charter, on the.....day of Bhādra of the fourteenth regnal year.²

(Ll. 51-2). The village of the deed, having the four boundaries yields a total income of 627 (*purāṇas*).

(Here follow six of the customary verses).

(Verse 27). The *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* of Gauḍa, Kōpi-Vishṇu was the *dūta*, in this charter of the king whose lotus-feet are caressed by the heads of a hundred ministers.

(Ll. 59-60). Passed by the clerk of the illustrious *Mahāsāndhivigrahika*,³ by the clerk of the *Mahāmahattaka* and by the clerk of the illustrious one (the king?).

(L. 60). The year 14, the 1st day of Āśvina.⁴

¹ The word is probably *nītipāṭhaka*.

² The day of the month is not specified, unless the ā stroke after *dina* is taken to be intended for the numeral sign '1'.

³ In the original the word is given in abbreviated form as *mahāsām*.

⁴ This is probably the date of the execution of the document.

XV. CALCUTTA SĀHITYA-PARISHAT COPPER-PLATE OF VIŚVARŪPASENA.

This copper-plate was discovered in 1925, somewhere in the neighbourhood of Dacca town, and came into the possession of the Rāj family of Susang who presented it to the Calcutta Sāhitya-Parishat. The inscription, which the copper-plate bears, has been edited by M. M. Haraprasād Śāstrī, in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. II, No. 1 (March 1926), pp. 77-86, and Plates. I re-edit it from the original and a set of inked estampages, with the kind permission of the Executive Committee of the Sāhitya Parishat.

This is a **single plate**, inscribed on both sides, now measuring 10" in length by 12½" in breadth. The size of the letters is about $\frac{3}{16}$ ". The plate has suffered from cleavage at the bottom and in consequence the last few lines of writing on either side have disappeared. At present there are only 34 lines on the obverse and 36 on the reverse. The seal of Sadāśiva, which was affixed to it (see l. 67), is missing.

The **characters** represent a more developed stage of the alphabet, compared to those employed in the copper-plates of Vallālasena and Lakṣhmaṇasena. The only point that may be noted here is that a clear distinction is made between the forms of the letters *va* and *ra*, the former being shown by the Nāgarī sign and the latter by the sign current to-day in Bengal.

The **language** is Sanskrit. Leaving the introductory formula *om om nāmo Nārāyaṇāya* in line 1, the text is in verse upto the end of line 34. The subsequent portion of the record, from line 35 to 69, is in prose, being followed again by verses, which due to the aforesaid break, abruptly terminate in line 70. The verses, which are twenty-four in number, exhibit a variety of metres *viz.* Vasantatilaka, Śārdūlavikrīḍita, Trīthivī, Sragdharā, Pushpitāgrā, Āryā and Anuṣṭubh. Verse 8 does not occur in the Edilpur or Madanapādā grant. In the prose portion of the document, which gives a description of the land, there are frequently employed abbreviations some of which are not intelligible at all. There are also instances where the writer shows utter disregard of Sanskrit grammar *e.g.* *mīlivalitā* for *mīlītā* (l. 46). And often he employs non-Sanskrit words, *e.g.* *baraja* (l. 45), probably denoting 'betel-leaf plantation' in which sense this word is used in Bengal and *paṭṭolī* (ll. 52, 55) probably used in the sense of *paṭṭolikā* 'title-deed' (cf. *pāṭṭā* of modern Bengali). These **circums-**

TEXT.

Obverse.

ॐ¹ ॐ नमो नारायणाय ॥

- 1 श्वन्देऽरविन्दवनबान्धवमन्धकारकारानिबद्धभुवनत्रयमुक्तिहेतुम् । पर्यायविस्त-
सितासितप-
- 2 क्षयुग्ममुद्यान्तमद्भुतखगं निगमद्गुमस्य ॥ [1 *] ²पर्यस्तस्फटिकाक्षतां वसुमतीं
विश्वग्विमुद्रीभवन्-सुक्ताकुञ्जलमन्धिमस्वरनदीवन्या-
- 3 वनहं नभः । उद्भिन्नस्मितमञ्जरीपरिचिता दिक्-कामिनीः कल्पयन् प्रत्युष्मीलतु
पुष्पसायकयशो जन्मान्तरं चन्द्रमाः ॥ [2 *] ⁴एतस्मा-
- 4 त् क्षितिभारनिःसहशिरोदर्वीकरग्रामणी-विश्रामोक्तवदानदीक्षितभुजास्ते भूभुजो
जग्निरि । येषामप्रतिमङ्गविक्रमक-
- 5 थारब्धप्रबन्धाद्भुतव्याख्यानन्दविनिद्रसान्द्रपुलकैर्व्याप्ता सदस्यैर्हिंसः ॥ [3 *] ⁵अवातर-
दथान्वये महति तत्र देवः स्वयं सुधा-
- 6 किरणशेखरो विजयसेन इत्याख्यया । यदङ्गिनखधोरणिस्फुरितमौलयः क्षामभुजो
दशास्यनतिविश्रमं विदधिरि
- 7 किलैकैकशः ॥ [4 *] ⁶नीलाब्धोदहसोदरोपि दलयन्मन्त्राणि कादम्बिनीकान्तोपि
ज्वलयन्-मनांसि मधुपञ्जिग्धोपि तन्वन्-भय-
- 8 म् । निष्पिक्ताञ्जनसन्निभोपि जनयन्नेतल्लमं वैरिणां यस्याशिषजनाद्भुताय समरे कौक्षेयकः
खेलति ॥ [5 *] ⁷ईषन्निस्त्रिंश-
- 9 निद्राविरहविलसितेर्वैरिभूपालवंशानुच्छिद्योच्छिद्य मूलावधि भुवमखिलां शासतो
यस्य रात्रः । आसीत्तेजोजिगीषा स-
- 10 ह दिवसकरेणैव दोष्णस्तुलाभूदूर्ध्वैवाशीविषाणामजनि दिग्धिपैरेव
सीमाविवादः ॥ [6] ⁸खेलतुल्यजलतापमार्जन-
- 11 कृतप्रत्यर्धिदर्पज्वरस्तस्मादप्रतिमङ्गकीर्तिरभवद्दल्लालसेनो नृपः । यस्यायोधनसौमि
शोषितसरिङ्गःसञ्चराय
- 12 कृताः संसङ्गद्विपदन्तदण्डशिविकामारोप्य वैरिन्त्रियः ॥ [7 *] ⁹यस्याघसैन्य-
चलितेभघटासहस्रसम्पातनिर्हसितपक्ष-

¹ Expressed by symbol.² Metre : Vasantatilaka.³ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁴ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁵ Metre : Prithvī.⁶ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁷ Metre : Śragdharā. The reading is not *bhāṣan*, as given by R. D. Banerji and H. P. Sastri, but *iśhan* as given by N. N. Vasu.⁸ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁹ Metre : Vasantatilaka.

- 13 परम्पराणाम् । भूमौभुजां भुवमतित्यजतां बभूवुः पायोधितोरबिभुराणि
विश्लोकितानि ॥ [8 *] ¹श्रीकान्तोपि न मायया वलि-
- 14 जयी वागौश्वरोप्यक्षरं वक्तुं नेत्यपटुः कलानिधिरपि प्रोक्षुक्तदोषायहः । भोगीन्द्रोऽपि
न जिह्वगैः परिवृतस्त्रै-
- 15 लोकरिखाद्भुत स्तस्मात्तत्तमस्मिन्भूपतिरभूद्भूलोक-कल्पद्रुमः ॥ [9 *] ¹ग्रन्थेषु
निगङ्गस्वनेर्नियमितप्रत्यर्थिभूमौभु-
- 16 जां मध्याह्ने जलपानसुक्तकरटिप्रोद्गालघण्टारवैः । सायं वेशविलासिनीजनरञ्जकञ्जोर-
मञ्जस्वनेर्येनाकारि
- 17 विभिन्नशब्दघटनावस्थं त्रिसन्ध्यं नभः ॥ [10 *] ¹पूर्वं जन्मशतेषु भूमिपतिना
सन्ध्यस्य सुस्तिग्रहं नूनमेन सुतार्थिना सुरधुनी-
- 18 तीरे हरः प्रीणितः । एतस्मात् कथमन्यथा रिपुवधूवैधव्यवहवतो विख्यातचित्तिपाल-
मौलिरभवत् श्रीविश्वरूपो-
- 19 नृपः ॥ [11 *] ²न गगनतल एव शीतरश्मिकेनकभूधर एव कल्पशाखी । न
विवुधपुर एव देवराजो विलसति यत्न धरा-
- 20 वतारभाजि ॥ [12 *] ¹वाङ्ग वारणहस्तकाण्डसदृशो वक्षः शिलासंहतं वाचाः
प्राणहरा क्षिपां मदजलप्रस्यन्दिनो दन्तिनः । यस्यै-
- 21 तां समराङ्गप्रणयिनीं कृत्वा स्थितिं वेधसा को जानाति कुतः कृतो न वसुधाचक्रे
ऽनुरुपो रिपुः ॥ [13 *] ³वेलायां दक्षि-
- 22 णाव्येर्मण्डलधरगदापाणिसंवासवेद्यां क्षेत्रे विश्वेश्वरस्य स्फुरदसिवरणाक्षेपगङ्गोर्धि-
भाजि । तौरोत्सङ्गे त्रिवेण्याः
- 32 क्रमलभवमखारभनिर्व्याजपूते येनोद्देर्यत्रयूपैः सह समरजयस्तम्भमाला
न्यधायि ॥ [14 *] ¹यां निर्माय पवित्रपाणिर-
- 24 भववेधाः सतीनां शिखारत्नं या किमपि स्वरूपचरितैर्विश्वं ययालङ्कृतम् । लक्ष्मी-
भूरपि वाञ्छितानि विदधे यस्याः
- 25 सपत्न्योऽहं श्रीमत्ताष्टणदेव्यमुष्महिषी साभूत्स्विवर्गोचिता ॥ [15 *] ⁴एतस्यां
शशिसेखरगिरिजाभ्यामिव बभूव शक्तिधरः । श्री-

¹ Meter : Śārdūlavikrīṭita.² Metro : Pushpitāgrā.³ Metro : Sragdharā.⁴ Metro : Āryā. According to H. P. Sastri (*op. cit.*, p. 78) the metre of this stanza occurring in the two other grants is faulty. Cf. above p. 123, v. 15.

- 26 विश्वरूपसेनः प्रतिभटभूपालमुकुटमणिः ॥ [16 *] ¹दृष्टिस्पर्शमवाप्य विश्व-
जयिनो यस्य द्विजानां ²पयःपाक्षैर्लोहमयैर्हिरण्यपद-
27 वी प्राप्तेति को विस्मयः । एतस्मिन्नियम(1)ज्ञताय महति³ प्रत्यर्थिपृष्ठीभुजां यत्
पात्राणि द्वि[र]ण्मयान्यपि पुनर्यातान्ययोवार्णता-
28 म् ॥ [17 *] ¹आकौमारमपारसङ्करभरव्यापारतृष्णावशस्वान्तस्यास्य निशम्य वीरपरि-
षद्वन्द्यस्य दोर्विक्रमम् । नेदं नेदमिदञ्च नेति चकितै-
29 र्दृग्ं प्रविश्य द्रुतं निर्गच्छद्भिररातिभूपनिवहैर्भ्राम्यद्भिरैवास्थते ॥ [18 *] ¹आकर्णाञ्च-
लमेलकारविशिखक्षेपैः समाजे द्विषां दानाभः-
30 कणगवर्भदवभंकलनैर्गोष्ठौषु निष्ठावताम् । नीवीबन्धविसारणैः परिषदि तस्यत्कुरङ्गी-
दृशामव्यापारसुखासितां क्षणमपि
31 प्राप्नोति नैतत्करः ॥ [19 *] ¹तापिच्छैः परिशीलितेव सरितां कच्छस्थलोनोरदैर्नी-
रभ्येव नभस्तटीमरकतैः क्लृप्ता भुवः क्ष्मारुहः । नी-
32 लयावकदम्बकैरविरलाभोगैव वेलावलीलेखामौददसीययज्ञहुतभुग्धूमे
मुहुम् ⁴र्क्षति⁵ ॥ [20 *] ¹कल्पक्ष्मारुहकाननानि कनकक्ष्माभ-
33 दिभागान्निधिं रत्नानां पुलिनान्तराणि च परिस्मर्य प्रयासालसाः । एतत्पादपयोधर-
प्रणयिनिच्छायावितानाञ्चले विश्राम्यन्ति स-
34 तामनिद्रविदशोद्भ्रान्ता मनोवृत्तयः ॥ [21 *] ⁵किमेतदिति विस्मयाकुलितलोक-
पालावलीवलोकितविशृङ्खलप्रधनजेतयादा-⁶ [22 *]

Reverse.

- 35 समस्तस्वप्रशस्तुपेत-अरिराजनिःशङ्खशङ्कर-गौड़ेश्वर श्रीमदल्लालसेनदेवपादानु-
ध्यातसमस्तस्वप्रशस्तुपेत-अरिराज-मदनशङ्क-
36 र-गौड़ेश्वर-श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणसेनदेवपादानुध्यातसमस्तस्वप्रशस्तुपेत-अश्वपति-
गजपति-नरपति-राजतयाधिपति-सेन-
37 कुलकमलविकासभास्कर-सोमवंशप्रदोप-प्रतिपन्नकर्ण-सत्यव्रतगाङ्गेय-स(श)रणागतवज्र-
पञ्चर-परमेश्वर-परमभ-
38 दारक-परमसौर-महाराजाधिराज-अरिराज-वृषभ(1)शङ्कर-गौड़ेश्वर-श्रीविश्वरूप-
सेनदेवपादा विजयिनः ॥ समु-

¹ Metre : Śardūlavikrīḍita.

² Śāstri reads *chayah* for *paṇah*.

³ The Edilpur plate has *chasma* - *caripatan* - *peṭapa* - *mahati*.

⁴ The Edilpur plate has *dharmarati* - *krati*.

⁵ Metre : Prithvī.

⁶ For the remaining portion of this verse which is missing see above p. 123, v. 21.

- 39 पगताषिषराज-राजन्यक-राज्ञी-राणक-राजपुत्र-राजामात्य-महापुरोहित-महा-
धर्माध्यक्ष-महासाम्बिविग्रहिक-म
- 40 हासेनापति-दौःसाधिक-चौरोद्धरणिक-नीवलहस्त्यश्व-गोमहिषाजाविकादिव्यापृत-
गौत्तिक-दण्डपाणिक-विषयपत्यादीनन्याश्च सक-
- 41 लराजपादोपजीविनो अध्यक्षप्रवरः च दृढभट्टजातीयान् ब्राह्मणान् ब्राह्मणोत्तरान्
यथाहं मानयन्ति बोधयन्ति समर्पयन्ति च विदि-
- 42 तमस्तु भवतां यथा पौण्ड्रवर्द्धनभुक्त्यन्तःपाति-वङ्गे नाव्ये रामसिद्धिपाटके¹
वराहकुण्डदक्षिणपश्चिमे पूर्वे देवहारदेवभोगसीमा द-
- 43 क्षिणे वाङ्गालवङ्गाभूः सीमा पश्चिमे नदी सीमा उत्तरे तथा नदी सीमा एवं
चतुःसीमावच्छिन्नवास्तुभूम्युदान ३४॥ तथा देवहा-
- 44 रपूर्वटा² ४ व्याभू उ ४। वास्तु उपति³ १॥ तथा नालभू उ २६॥ देवहारउत्तरे
नालभू उ २ नाल उपति³ १॥ एवं
- 45 सवास्तुभू उदान ६७॥ ग्रामपत्या⁴ सां⁵हि ८०॥ तथैतद्ग्रामे वारनाकोलोक्त-
गाजीकादीनां⁶ नूतनवरजचतुष्टयसमेत वारथे-
- 46 मनो उदयिता¹ परलोक्तकानां¹ वरजत्रयसंवलित सांहि १८॥ मिलिवलिता का²
ख³ ७ द्वाभ्यां त्रयोदशाब्दीय उत्तरायणमहासंक्र-
- 47 मणसम्बन्धेन समुत्सरिर्गतभू सं सांहि १०० तथा नाव्ये विनयतिलकग्रामे पूर्वे
समुद्रसीमा दक्षिणे प्रनुल्लीभूः सीमा पश्चिमे जङ्गा-
- 48 लसीमा उत्तरे शासनसीमा एवं चतुःसीमावच्छिन्नसवास्तुभू उदान २५ नानापत्या¹
सांहि ६० तथा मधुक्षीरकावृत्तौ नवसंग्रह-च
- 49 तुरके अजिकुलापाटके यथाप्रसिद्धस्वसीमावच्छिन्नशैवसाकिरितो¹ मैतो¹ उच्छो-
कादीनां अनेनैवावत्तिकपङ्कलायुधेन क्री-
- 50 तपट्टोलोमं सवास्तुभूम्युदान १६५ नानापत्या उच्छन्नत्वात् सांहि १०० तथैतद्वास्तु-
भूमौ कलन¹ संसा गुवाकशत ३० एत-
- 51 न्यूल्यं हि ४० हा¹सांहि १४० तथा विक्रमपुरभागे लाउहण्डा-चतुरके
देजलहस्त्यां नदीपूर्वपश्चिमे राजहिता स एव वार ✓

¹ Obscure meaning.² Śāstri reads *Sāmasiddhi*.³ Śāstri reads *udāti*.⁴ Does it stand for *sākalena* ('in all')?⁵ Does it stand for *kāla* which is a land measure?⁶ Probably it stands for *sarvasākalena*, i.e. (in Bengali Sanskrit?) 'in all.'⁷ I. E. *drābhyām*.

- 52 आरखे(?) कामापिण्डनागादीनां अनेनैव क्रीतपट्टोलोस' सवास्तुभूम्युदान २५ सां हि
५० त्रिभिः मातृचरणा-नाम् दृष्टेन
- 53 सोमग्रासे समुत्सर्गितभूसम्बन्धेन गुवाकमूल्यममेत सां हि २५० तथैतदग्रामे
वारव्रह्मअमृतोकयोः अनेनैव क्रीतपट्टो-
- 54 लोस' वर्षवृद्धौ कुमारश्रीसूर्यैरेन'प्रदत्त नालभू उ ७ गुवाकवास्तुभू उ ३ हा स
वा भू उ १० सां हि २५ तथा तथैतदग्रामे
- 55 मे वारकलो-अमृतोकयोः अनेनैव क्रीतपट्टोलोस' साम्भिविग्रहिकनाजीसिंह-
प्रदत्त नालभू उ ३ गुवाकवास्तुभू उ ४ हा सवास्तु-
- 56 भू उ ७ सां हि २५ हा सां हि ५० तथा क(?)न्द्रद्वीपे उराचतुरके जयजाहडा-
पूर्वं घाघरकाट्टी-^३पाटके राजपंमहेश्वरस्य अनेनैवाव-
- 57 स्त्रिकपंहलायुधेन क्रीतशासनसं सवास्तुभू उदान १२॥ सां हि ५० तथा क(?)न्द्रद्वीपे
पातिलादिवीके कुमारश्रीपुरुषोत्तम-
- 58 सेनभुज्यमानायग(?) अनेनैव चतुर्दशाब्दीय-उत्थानद्वादश्यां समुत्सर्गितभूसम्बन्धेन
दत्त सवास्तुभूम्युदान २४ सां हि ५० मि-
- 59 लित्वा [सार्द्धे]षट्(f)वंशदुन्मानाधिकशतत्रयोदानात्मककललगुवाकमूल्यवरजायममेत
सां चूर्णा पञ्चशतिकभूमिः सजलस्थला स-
- 60 भाटविटपा सगर्त्ताषरा सखिलनाला सगुवाकनारिकेला अचट्टभट्टप्रवेशा आचन्द्रार्क-
क्षितिसमकालं यावत् देवकुलपुष्करि-
- 61 ण्यादिकं कारयित्वा गुवाकनारिकेलादिकं लगावयित्वा पुत्रपौत्रादिसन्ततिक्रमेण
स्वच्छन्दोपभोगिनोपभोक्तुं वात्स्यमगोत्रस्य श्रीर्व-
- 62 च्यवन-भार्गव-यामदग्न्य-आप्नुवत्-पञ्चप्रवरस्य यजुर्वेदान्तर्गतकाण्वशाखैकदेशाध्यायिनो
लक्ष्मीधरदेवशर्मेणः प्रपौत्राय तथा दे-
- 63 वधरदेवशर्मेणः^३ पौत्राय तथा अथ्ययदेवशर्मेणः पुत्राय वात्स्यमगोत्राय श्रीर्व-च्यवन-
भार्गव-यामदग्न्य-आप्नुवत्-पञ्चप्रवराय यजु-
- 64 वेदान्तर्गतकाण्वशाखैकदेशाध्यायिने आवस्त्रिकपंहलायुधशर्मेण ब्राह्मणाय नाव्ये(?)
महाउत्तरायणमहासंक्रमणे...संसा ✓

¹ Sāstri reads Sadāsena. There is a sign of encasure at the last letter.

² Sāstri reads Dombharabātti.

³ Sāstri wrongly reads Vedadhara.

- 65 भू हि १०० नाव्यमधुचौरकवङ्ग-भागेषु माटचरणा-नाम् दृष्टेन सीमग्रामे
दत्त संसा भू हि २५० विक्रमपुरभागे वर्षवृद्धौ कु-
- 66 मारशी-सूर्यसेन-¹प्रदत्त संसा भू हि २५ तथा हि साम्बिनाजौसिंह-दत्त
संसा भूहि २५ क(?)न्द्रद्वौपे उराचतुरके क्रीतशासन संसां भूहि ५० तथा पा-
- 67 तिलादिवीके कुमारपुरुषोत्तमसेन-दत्त संसा भूहि ५० मिलित्वा श्रीमत्-
सदाशिवमुद्रया मुद्रयित्वा भूच्छिद्रन्यायेन ताम्रशासनीकृत्य प्रद-
- 68 तोष्माभिः यत्र वरजगुवाकायसमेतताम्रशासन सां भूहि ५०० तद्भवद्भिः सर्वैरेव
अनुमन्तव्यम् । भाविभिरपि नृपतिभिरप-
- 69 हरणे नरकपातभयात् पालने धर्मगौरवात् पालनीयम् । भवन्ति चात्र धर्मानुशंसिनः
श्लोकाः ॥ ²भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भूमिं प्र-
- 70 यच्छति । उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्मणौ नियतं स्वर्गगामिनौ । [॥ 23 *] ²बहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता
राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा

¹ Śāstrī reads *Dāmāraṅg*—*Śthaviryasimha*.

² Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

XVI.—RĀMGANJ COPPER-PLATE OF ĪSVARAGHOṢHA.

The existence of this copper-plate was made known by Mr. A. K. Maitra in the Bengali Journal *Sāhitya*, Vol. XXIV (1320 B.S.), pp. 35-43, pp. 172-78, pp. 275-76 and plates opposite pp. 172 and 176.¹ It is in the possession of the Māldwār Rāj family and appears to have been discovered sometime before 1833, in the vicinity of **Rāmganj**, in Police Station Ranisankail, District Dinajpur. The inscription, which the copper-plate bears, was deciphered for the first time by the late Pandit Bacheha Jhā of Darbhanga, whose unpublished transcript was lent by the Rāj family to the Varendra Research Society, along with the copper-plate, for the use of Mr. Maitra. In 1926 the Society obtained the copper-plate on loan for the second time, through the kindness of Raja Tankanath Chaudhuri of Māldwār and this enabled me to compare the readings of Pandit Bacheha Jhā and Mr. Maitra with the original document itself. The reproduction which follows is from a set of inked estampages prepared in the Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

This is a **single plate**, engraved on both sides, measuring $9\frac{1}{2}$ " by $8\frac{1}{2}$ ". A portion of it having broken off from a corner many letters have disappeared from the end of lines 1-9 on the obverse and the beginning of lines 27-35 on the reverse. The last four lines on each side have also suffered to some extent from a similar damage. There is no seal attached to the record, but exactly where one would expect it, the plate has a rectangular projection $2\frac{1}{2}$ " by $1\frac{3}{4}$ " in size. Across this portion is engraved *Śrī-Parākramamūlasya*² and below it, only a single letter *ni*.³ To the right of this inscription occurs a sign representing a flag. The inscription consists of 47 lines of which twenty-two are incised on the obverse and twenty-five on the reverse. The size of letters varies between $\frac{3}{8}$ " and $\frac{1}{16}$ ".

The **characters** represent a variety of Northern alphabets which is evidently earlier than those used in the Sena copper-plates and akin to those found in the copper-plates of the Later Pālas e.g. the Bāngarh grant of Mahīpāla I and the Āmgāchhi grant of Vīgrahapāla III.⁴ Some of the noteworthy features are : the use of nail-heads in many letters instead of the straight top-strokes, e.g. in

¹ Introduction, text, translation of vv. 1-5; and remarks.

² *I.E.* 'of Parākramamūla.' This word looks like a *barāda* and may refer to the donor or his overlord.

³ This letter *ni*, which probably stands for *nibaddha*, meaning 'assigned' or 'registered,' is frequently used in Pāla copperplates, at the beginning and end of the first line e.g. the Āmgāchhi grant of Vīgrahapāla III (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 295, n. 4). Cf. also Kielhorn, *JASB.*, 1892, part 1, p. 82, n. 14.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, p. 324 and XV, p. 293.

kshata (l. 4) ; the letter *dh* without the horn e.g. in *dhānushka* (l. 18) ; the arrow-headed form of *r* and not the triangular one e.g. in *karmmakara* (l. 19) ; and the symbol for *om* (l. 1) which is open to the right, and not to the left as in Sena records.

The **language** is Sanskrit. After the formula *om svasti* the first ten lines contain five verses. Then comes the prose portion *sa khalu* etc. which runs from line 10 to line 36. Lines 36-46 again contain ten verses. The subsequent portion, in lines 46-47, which contains the date, is in prose. The verses are composed in a variety of metres viz. *Indravajrā*, *Vasantatilaka*, *Anuṣṭubh*, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*, *Śālinī* and *Mālinī*. As regards **orthography** it should be noted that both the letters *b* and *v* are denoted by the same sign ; the letters following a superscript *r* are doubled excepting *y* e.g. *bhārgyā*, in l. 8 ; and that the *anuscāra* is invariably used in place of the final *m* e.g. in *saṃplavam*, in l. 40. The rules of euphony have not been observed in several places e.g. *maḥā-ākṣhapātālika*, in l. 13 and *Yajurvedā-ādhyāyine*, in l. 31.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the *Mahāmāṇḍalika* **Īśvaraghosha** (ll. 10-11) whose genealogy is given in the first five stanzas : The record introduces first of all **Dhūrttaghosha** (v. 1). His son **Bālaghosha** was a warrior by profession (v. 2). **Bālaghosha**'s son was **Dhavalaghosha** (v. 3) from whose wife **Sadbhāvā** (v. 4) was born a son **Īśvaraghosha** by name (v. 5). (The grant consisted of a village called **Digghāsodikā** belonging to the **Gāllitīpyaka** *vishaya* of the **Piyolla maṇḍala** (ll. 11-12 and 21), and was issued by **Īśvaraghosha** from a place called **Dhekkarī** (l. 10).) The customary list of officers and of others concerned is given in ll. 12-21 ; and the conditions of the gift are enumerated in ll. 21-28. The donee was **Bhaṭṭa**-Nibbokaśarman, who emigrated from **Chandavāra**, son of (**Bhaṭṭa**)-Vāsudeva, belonging to the *Bhārgava-gotra*, *Bhārgava*, *Chyāvana*, *Yamadagni*, *Aurvva* and *Āpnuvān pravara*s and a student of the *Yajurveda* (ll. 28-31). (The donor made the aforesaid gift by means of a copper-plate after having bathed in the river **Jaṭodā** on the last day of the month of *Mārggaśīrsha* (ll. 31, 33). Finally comes the date : the 1st day of *Mārggaśīrsha*, the year 35 (l. 47).)

The donor **Īśvaraghosha** does not possess any of the titles of a paramount sovereign. Indeed he has not even the epithet of 'a king,' although, curiously enough, he arrogates to himself the privilege of issuing orders to *Rājans*, *Rājanyakas*, *Rājñīs*, *Rāṇakas*, *Rājaputras* and so forth who are supposed to be under his authority. No stress can, of course, be laid on this stereotyped form

¹ The copper-plate appears to have been made ready a month in advance of the actual gift.

of the court language, found more or less in all land grants. Hence the title *Mahāmāṇḍalika* assumed by Īśvaraghoshā can alone be considered to determine his real position. Mr. Maitra has brought forward two important data from the *Rāmacharita* in this connection : Firstly, Dhekkarī, whence this copper-plate was issued by Īśvaraghoshā, was the seat of one of the *sāmantas* or a vassal king (of the Pālas) : and secondly, these *sāmantas* were known as *maṇḍalādhipati*, which is the same as *māṇḍalika*. He, therefore, concludes that Īśvaraghoshā, the *Mahāmāṇḍalika*, held the position of a vassal king under the suzerainty of the Pāla dynasty.¹ The name of one of the earlier vassal princes of the Pālas is now forthcoming from the Nālandā copper-plate of Devapāla (vv. 22-3). He is Balavarmman, the ruler of Vyāghrataṭī-*maṇḍala* (*Vyāghrataṭī-maṇḍalādhipati*), who is described as 'the right-hand' person of King Devapāla.² Elsewhere too, this title of *māṇḍalika* or *mahāmāṇḍalika* is found to have been held by vassal princes and they issued land grants like Īśvaraghoshā. Thus the Kudopali plates of the time of Mahābhavagupta II were issued by his vassal *Māṇḍalika* Puñja,³ and the Bhadana and Kharepatan plates⁴, by the Śilāhāra chiefs, *Mahāmāṇḍaleśvara* Aparājita and *Māṇḍalika* Ratṭarāja respectively.

(The record supplies three names of topographical interest viz. Dhekkarī,⁵ the river Jaṭodā and Chandavāra. M. M. H. P. Śāstrī⁶ and Mr. A. K. Maitra proposed to locate Dhekkarī and the river Jaṭodā, on which Dhekkarī was evidently situated, near Kāṭwā in the Burdwan District. But as pointed out by Mr. N. N. Vasu,⁷ both must be located in the Goalpārā and Kāmarūpa districts of Assam. The river is mentioned in the *Kālikāpurāṇa* (Ch. 73), as flowing through Kāmarūpa.⁸ Chandavāra may be the same as Chandwār near Etawa in U. P., well known from Muhammadan historians.⁹)

¹ It is, of course, difficult to say who was the overlord of Īśvaraghoshā and whether the word *Parīkramamāṇḍa* occurring at the top of the plate refers to him, or his vassal.

² *Monographs of the V. R. Society*, No. 1, p. 14.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 258.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 268, 293.

⁵ It is probably the same as Dhikkara, one of the Buddhist sacred places (see above p. 61).

⁶ Introduction to the *Rāmacharita*, p. 14.

⁷ *Vaṅger Jātiga Itihās*, Rājanyakānda, pp. 259-51.

⁸ In his *Geographical Dictionary* Mr. N. L. Dey refers to the river as a 'tributary of the Brahmaputra, which flows through the district of Jalpaiguri and Kuch Bihari.' *Ind. Ant.*, 1922, Supplement, p. 81.

⁹ *Tabakāt-i-Nāsirī*, Raverty's transl., pp. 470, 742; Elliot's *History of India*, vol. II, p. 297, n. 2.

TEXT.¹*Obverse.*

श्रीपराक्रममूलस्य

नि²

- 1 श्री³ स्वस्ति । ब⁴भूव-गन्धिय (?) -लब्धजन्मा⁵
 ि — — — — —⁶
- 2 केतुः । श्रीधूर्त्तघोषो निगितासिधारा-नि[र्व्या]- (पिता) — — — —⁷
- 3 लेशः ॥ [1*] ⁸आसीत्ततोपि समरव्यवसायसार- [वि] — — — (कुलि)⁹
- 4 शक्षतवैरिवर्गः । श्रीबालघोष इति घोषकु(ला) — — — (मार्त्त)¹⁰
- 5 गङ्ग-मण्डलमिव प्रथितः पृ[थि]व्या¹¹ ॥ [2*] ¹²तस्याभवद्वलघो(ष) — — —¹³
- 6 गङ्गदण्डः सुतो जगति गीतमहाप्रतापः । येनेह चौरति — — —¹⁴
- 7 दिवाकरेण वज्रायितं प्रवलवैरिकुलाचलेषु ॥ [3*] ¹⁵भवानीवापरा मूर्त्या सीते(व)
 — (पति)¹⁶
- 8 व्रता । सद्भावा नाम तस्याभूदुभार्या पद्मे व शाङ्गिनः ॥ [4*] ¹⁷तस्या र्क्ष्वरघोष
 एष तनयः हे — —¹⁸
- 9 धामा जयत्येको दुर्द्धरसाहसः किमपरं कान्त्या जितेन्दुद्युतिः¹⁹ । यस्य प्रोज्जित-
 शौर्यनिर्जितरिपोः (प्रौ)-
- 10 द्रप्रतापश्रुतेरास्यम्व्याजलप्रणालमलिनं शत्रुस्त्रियो बिभ्रति । [॥ 5*] स खलु
 देहकरीतः । महामाण्डलि(कः)

¹ Mr. Mahtta's readings are indicated by the letter 'M' and Pandit Baehha Jha's restorations by 'J'.² These letters are engraved on the rectangular projection at the top of the plate.³ Expressed by a symbol.⁴ Metre : Indravajrā.⁵ रादाषिपलम्बजन्मा—J. and M. This is an imaginary reading for which there are absolutely no grounds. After बभूव and before लब्ध there were 4 letters of which the second one is clearly a *ga* and the third and fourth letters look like ग्धिय. It is impossible to make out the reading with any degree of certainty as the letters are too far worn out.⁶ तिमोशचण्डो नृपवंश—J.⁷ -पितारित्रजगत्वे—J.⁸ Metre : Indravajrā.⁹ विस्मृज्जितासिकुलि—J.¹⁰ कुलाज्जातमार्त्त—J.¹¹ Read पृथिव्याम्.¹² Metre : Vasantatilaka.¹³ इति प्रच—J.¹⁴ योषतिमिरेक—J. M. reads योध¹⁵ Metre : Anushtubh.¹⁶ सीतेव च पतिव्रता—J.¹⁷ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.¹⁸ सभाय—J. But the reading intended was probably हेमाद्रि which suits the metre as well.¹⁹ जितेन्दुद्युतिः—M.



- 11 श्रीमदीश्वरघोषः कुशलो । पियोल्लमण्डलान्तःपाति¹-गाल्लिट्ठियक-विषयमभोग
दिग्घासोदि-
- 12 कायामे समुपगताशेषराज । राजन्यक । राज्ञी । राणक । राजपुत्रकुमारामात्य ।
महासान्धिविग्र-
- 13 हिक-महाप्रतीहार-महाकरणाध्यक्ष-महामुद्राधिकृत-²महाभ्रातृपटलिक-
महासर्वाधिकृत³।-
- 14 महासेनापति-महापादमूलिक-महाभोगपति-महातन्त्राधिकृत-महाव्यूहपति-
महादण्डनाय-
- 15 क-महाकायस्थ-महाबलाकीष्टिक-महाबलाधिकरणिक-महासामन्त-महाकटुक⁴।-
ठकुर-अङ्गिकर-
- 16 णिक-दाण्डपाणिक-कोट्टपति-हट्टपति-भुक्तिपति-विषयपति-श्रीतिथ्यतामनिक⁵।-
अन्तःप्रतीहार-द(ण्ड)-
- 17 पाल-खण्डपाल-दुःसाध्यसाधनिक-चौरौद्धरणिक-उपरिक-तटानियुक्तक-आभ्यन्तरिक-
वासग [1]-
- 18 रिक-खड्गग्रह-शिरोरक्षिक-वृद्धधानुष्क-एकसरक-खोल-दूत गमागमिक लेख[क]।-
दू[तप्रे]-
- 19 षणिक⁶-पानीयागारिक-सान्तिकिक-कर्मकर-गौल्लिक-शौल्लिक हस्यश्वोष्टःनौवल-
व्याघ्रतक-[गो]-
- 20 महिषजाविक-वड्वाध्यक्षादि-सकलराजपादोपजीविनोऽन्यांश्च चाटभटजातीयान्
स(कर)-
- 21 णाब्राह्मणमाननापूर्वकं⁷ मानयति बोधयति समादिशति च विदितमतमस्तु भवतां
ग्रा[मो]-
- 22 यं चतुःसीमापर्यन्तः स्वमशोगममेतः सजलस्थलः सोद्देशः सगर्तापरः सा[स्त्र](मधु)-

¹ पियोल्ल—M.

² Read महाभ्रातृपटलिक

³ महाकटुक—M

⁴ शोन्वितासनिक—J: ठन्वितासनिक—M. In *JBORS.*, 1919, p. 588, n. 1, Mr. R. D. Banerji suggests the correct reading given above and reads the title 'महोन्वितासनिक' in the Panoholi plate of Samudragupta. Cf. also Lucknow Museum plate of Kirtipāla (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 97, n. 7) in which evidently the same term occurs in line 38.

⁵ The last four letters were not read by M.

⁶ M. rightly compares सकरणान् प्रतिवामिनः जेवकराय ब्राह्मणमाननापूर्वकं of the Khairpur plate of Dharmapāla (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 250) and reads करण instead of करण as read by J. Cf. also the parallel plates of Madhyamarāja (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 286). Mr. Banerji reads in line 12 of the plates सकार(क)ण्य ब्राह्मणपुरोगादिजनपदान् ; but the facsimile shows the reading करण्यब्राह्मण etc.

Reverse.¹

- 23 कः सगोकुलः स[शाड]ल-
 24 विटपलतान्वितः सहृदय-
 25 दृः² सतरुः राजकुलाभाव्य³-(?)
 26 हारिकादि-समस्तचित्ति-
 27⁴परिहृतसर्वपीडः अचाटभटप्रवेशः अकिञ्चित्करप्रश-
 28 (ह्यः).....⁴(आ)चन्द्रार्कतारकचित्तिसमकालं यावत् । चन्द्रवारविन(नि)र्गताय⁵ भट्ट-
 29⁴श्रीवासुदेवपुत्राय भट्टश्रीनिर्वोकशर्मणे । भार्गवसगोत्राय
 30⁶(य)मदग्नि-श्रीर्व्याश्राप्नुवानप्रवराय आप्नुवानश्रीर्व्यायामदग्निच्यवनभा-
 31 (र्गव).....⁴यजुर्वेदा आध्यायिने⁷ मार्गसंक्रान्तो जटोदायां स्नात्वा तिलदर्भपवित्-
 32 ...[दक]-पूर्वकं⁸ भगवन्तं शङ्करभट्टारकमुद्दिश्य मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये
 33 (ताम्ब)शासनीकृत्य प्रदत्तोऽस्माभिः अतः प्रतिपालने महाफलदर्शनात् अपहरणे म-
 34 (हानर)[क]पतनभयात् सर्वैरेव दानमिदमनुमन्तव्यं प्रतिवासिभिः जैत्रकरैश्च आश्रा-
 अवणविधे-
 35 (यी)भूय यथादीयमानकरादिसमस्तप्रत्यायोपनयः कार्ये इति । भवन्ति चात्र
 धर्मानुसंसि-
 36 नः⁹श्लोकाः । ¹⁰वहुभिर्व्यसुधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा
 भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा-
 37 फल¹¹ ॥ [6*] ¹²भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यस्य भूमिं प्रयच्छति । उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्माणौ
 नियतं स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥ [7*]
 38 सर्वेषामेव दानानां एकजन्मानुगं फलं [1*] हाटकचित्तिगौरीणां सप्तजन्मानुगं
 फलं¹³ ॥ [8*] षष्ठिं
 39 वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः [1*] आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरकं¹⁴
 वसेत् ॥ [9*] गा-

¹ This portion is not marked out separately in M's text.² दृष्टः M.³ जलन्याभाव्य - M.⁴ Lacuna not indicated by M.⁵ The first four letters are not read by M.⁶ Lacuna not indicated by M. - Restore भार्गव-च्यवन-⁷ Read यजुर्वेदाध्यायिने⁸ Lacuna not shown by M. Evidently the missing word is उदकः but there was probably another word before it.⁹ Read शंसिनः¹⁰ Metre - Anushtubh.¹¹ Read फलम्¹² Metre of vv. 7-13 : Anushtubh.¹³ Read फलम्¹⁴ Read नरके

- 40 मेकां सुवर्णमेकं भूमिरप्येकमङ्गलं [1*] हरन्नरकमायाति यावदाङ्गसिंघव¹ ॥ [10*]
अन्यदत्तां
- 41 द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर । महीं महोभुजां श्रेष्ठदानोच्छ्रेयोऽनुपालनं² ॥ [11*]
खदत्तां प-
- 42 रदत्तां वा यो हरेद्वसुधरां³ । स विष्ठायां क्षमिभत्वा पितृभिः सह पश्यते ॥ [12*]
वापीकूप-स
- 43 हस्त्रेण अश्वमेधशतेन च । गवां कोटिप्रदानेन भूमिहर्ता न शुध्यति ॥ [13*]
‘सर्वाने-
- 44 तान् भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्र(न्द्रा)न् भूयोभूयः प्रात्य(र्थ)यत्येष रामः [1*] सामान्योयं
धर्मसेतु र्त्-
- 45 पाणां(नां) काले काले पालनीयः क्रमेण ॥ [14*] ⁴इति कमलदलाम्बुविन्दुलोलां
त्रियमनुचि-
- 46 (न्य म)नुष्यजीवितं च । सकलमिदमुदाहृतं च बुद्ध्वा नहि पुरुषः परकीर्त्तयो
विलोप्या(ः) ॥ [15*] इ-
- 47 (ति) सम्बत् ३५ मार्गदिने १

TRANSLATION.⁶

Om. Welfare !

(Verse 1). There was born in (the family of)...**Dhūrttaghoshā**, who by the edge of his sharp sword.....

(Verse 2). From him was born in the **Ghoshā** clan, **Bālāghoshā** who was a military man by profession. He defeated his enemies by.....and was as much well-known in this world as the Sun himself.

(Verse 3). From him was born a son, **Dhavalāghoshā**.....whose glory was sung in ballads throughout the world and who proved a veritable Sun to the darkness, namely, the robbers, and a thunderbolt to his mountain-like and powerful enemies.

(Verse 4). His wife **Sadbhāvā** by name was a second **Bhāvānī** (wife of Śiva) in appearance. She was as much devoted to her husband as **Sītā** (herself) and resembled **Padmā**, the wife of **Vishṇu**.

¹ Read संघवम्² Read दाना- Read पावनम्³ Read हरेत वसु-⁴ Metre : Śālīnī.⁵ Metre : Mālinī.⁶ In the following translation I have generally ignored Jhā and Mantra's conjectural restorations of metrical portions which have disappeared from the plate.

(Verse 5). May her son, this **Īśvaraghosha** be victorious. In loveliness—what more to say—he defeats (even) the moonlight. He is as majestic as the Golden Mountain¹ and is unequalled for his indomitable vigour. His enemies, who were reputed far and wide for the strength of their arms, have been completely crushed by dint of his outstanding heroism; and their faces tarnished by a continuous flow of tears are held up by their wives.

(Ll. 10-21). Now, from **Dhekkarī**, the *Mahāmāṇḍalika*, the illustrious **Īśvaraghosha** being in good health, after having shown respect to the Brāhmaṇas and Karaṇas², duly honours, informs and orders all³ the *Rājans*, *Rājanyakas*, *Rājñīs*, *Rājakas*, *Rājaputras*, *Kumārāmātyas*, *Mahāsāndhivigrahika*, *Mahāpratīhāra*, *Mahākaraṇādhyaksha*, *Mahāmudrādhikṛita*, *Mahākshapaṭalika*, *Mahāsarevādhikṛita*,⁴ *Mahāsenāpati*, *Mahāpūdamūlika*, *Mahābhogapati*, *Mahātāntrādhikṛita*, *Mahāvṛyāhapati*, *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka*, *Mahākāyastha*, *Mahācalākoshṭhika*, *Mahācalādhikaraṇika*, *Mahāsāmānta*, *Mahākāṭuka*, *Thakkura*, *Aṅgikaraṇika*, *Dāṇḍapāṇika*, *Koṭṭapati*, *Haṭṭapati*, *Bhaktipati*, *Vishayapati*, *Antthitāsānika*, *Antaḥpratīhāra*, *Dāṇḍapāla*, *Khaṇḍapāla*, *Duḥsādhyasāadhanika*, *Chauroddharaṇika*, *Uparika*, *Tadānuyuktaka*, *Ābhyanterika*, *Vāsāgārika*, *Khaḍḍagāra*, *Śīrorakshika*, *Viddha-dhāmushika*, *Ekasaraka*, *Khola*, *Dūta*, *Gamāgamika*, *Lekhaka*, *Dūtapratishānika*, *Pāṇīyāgārika*, *Sāntakika*, *Karmmakara*, *Gaṇmika*, *Saulkika*, and all those who are dependent on His Royal Highness, viz., officers engaged over elephants, horses, camels, fleet, and those who are in charge of cows, buffaloes, goats, sheep and mares, and others belonging to the class of *Chāṭas* and *Bhaṭas*, who have assembled in the village of **Digghāsodikā** within the **Gāllīṭipyakavishaya** of the **Piyollamaṇḍala** :

(Ll. 21-32). Be it known to you that this village, having its four boundaries, with all that belongs to it, with land and water, including its surface, along with pits and barren tracts, mango and *Bassia Latifolia* trees, cattle stations, grass, branches and creepers, markets and bathing places, trees, and all the land together with the income⁵ accruing to the Royal family, being free from all forced labour, unenterable by *Chāṭas* and *Bhaṭas*, and free from all sorts of taxation, is given by Us by means of a copper-plate, after having bathed on the

¹ I.E. Mount Sumeru.

² Probably people of the Kāyastha caste.

³ With this list of officers cf. Khāmpur plate of Dharmapāla and the Panchobh plate of Saṃgrāmagupta, in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 247; and *JBORS.*, 1919, p. 588.

⁴ The designation **सन्धिधिकृत** occurs in the Purī plates of Indravarman (*Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 362, l. 30).

⁵ The term **श्रमश** meaning income occurs in Rājputānā inscriptions e.g. D. R. Bhandarkar, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 36.

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कृष्णाय नमः ॥ १ ॥
 तत्त्वज्ञानमयः ॥ २ ॥
 दयानन्दः ॥ ३ ॥
 दामोदरः ॥ ४ ॥
 राधिकाय नमः ॥ ५ ॥
 शक्तिमयः ॥ ६ ॥
 विष्णुमयः ॥ ७ ॥
 ब्रह्ममयः ॥ ८ ॥
 शिवमयः ॥ ९ ॥
 अक्षयमयः ॥ १० ॥
 अमरमयः ॥ ११ ॥
 अविनाशमयः ॥ १२ ॥
 अद्वैतमयः ॥ १३ ॥
 अनामयः ॥ १४ ॥
 अविद्यामयः ॥ १५ ॥
 अमृतमयः ॥ १६ ॥
 अविनाशमयः ॥ १७ ॥
 अद्वैतमयः ॥ १८ ॥
 अनामयः ॥ १९ ॥
 अविद्यामयः ॥ २० ॥
 अमृतमयः ॥ २१ ॥
 अविनाशमयः ॥ २२ ॥
 अद्वैतमयः ॥ २३ ॥
 अनामयः ॥ २४ ॥
 अविद्यामयः ॥ २५ ॥
 अमृतमयः ॥ २६ ॥
 अविनाशमयः ॥ २७ ॥
 अद्वैतमयः ॥ २८ ॥
 अनामयः ॥ २९ ॥
 अविद्यामयः ॥ ३० ॥
 अमृतमयः ॥ ३१ ॥
 अविनाशमयः ॥ ३२ ॥
 अद्वैतमयः ॥ ३३ ॥
 अनामयः ॥ ३४ ॥
 अविद्यामयः ॥ ३५ ॥
 अमृतमयः ॥ ३६ ॥
 अविनाशमयः ॥ ३७ ॥
 अद्वैतमयः ॥ ३८ ॥
 अनामयः ॥ ३९ ॥
 अविद्यामयः ॥ ४० ॥
 अमृतमयः ॥ ४१ ॥
 अविनाशमयः ॥ ४२ ॥
 अद्वैतमयः ॥ ४३ ॥
 अनामयः ॥ ४४ ॥
 अविद्यामयः ॥ ४५ ॥
 अमृतमयः ॥ ४६ ॥
 अविनाशमयः ॥ ४७ ॥
 अद्वैतमयः ॥ ४८ ॥
 अनामयः ॥ ४९ ॥
 अविद्यामयः ॥ ५० ॥

*Mārggasamkrāntī*¹ day in the **Jaṭodā**, and touched sesame, *Darbha* grass and holy (water), in the name of lord Śaṅkara-bhaṭṭāraka (*i.e.* Śiva), for the increase of merit and fame of myself and my parents, to last as long as the Sun, Moon, stars and the Earth endure—

(Ll. 28-31) to Bhaṭṭa-Nibbokaśarmman, an immigrant from **Chandavāra** (grandson) of Bhaṭṭa and son of (Bhaṭṭa) Vāsudeva, belonging to the Bhārggava *gotra*, (Bhārggava, Chyavana). Yamadagnya, Aurvva and Āpnuvān *pravaras*, (resembling) Āpnuvān, Aurvva, Yamadagnya, Chyavana and Bhārggava³ and a student of the Yajurveda.

(Ll. 33-36) : Therefore, this gift should be approved by all, considering that its preservation entails great merit and transgression, the risk of falling into the Great Hell. Hearing my order the dwellers and cultivators (of the land) also should regularly pay the taxes and all other dues payable by them (to the donee). There are again verses enjoining *Dharma*, in this matter.

(Here follow ten of the customary verses which are not translated).

(L. 47) : The year 35, the 1st day of Mārgga(śīrsha).⁴

¹ *I. E.* the last day of the month of Mārggaśīrsha.

² For the repetition of the names of the Ṛishis in the above order for the second time, after the *pravara* of the donee is mentioned, we should compare similar passages in other grants e. g. बाहिरवाल्मीक्ययौवनाश्वेति युवनश्वदम्बरोषवदाह्निरिवत् etc. (Buguda plates of Mādhavavarman, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 45, ll. 38-9) and again बाहिरवाल्मीक्ययौवनाश्वप्रवरः युवनश्वदम्बरोषवदाह्निरिवदन्प्रवरः etc. (Patna plates of Mahābhavagupta I, *ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 342). And Kielhorn, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 201, ll. 16-17 and n. 16.

³ *I. E.* November—December.

XVII. CHITTAGONG COPPER-PLATE OF DĀMODARA.

This copper-plate was discovered by a Muhammadan in course of re-excavating a pond, at the village of Nasirabad near the **Chittagong** town, sometime about 1874, and presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by A. L. Clay, then Officiating Collector of Chittagong. The plate appears subsequently to have been missing from the archives of the Society, and there is no mention of it in their latest List of Copper-plates¹ published in 1910.

The inscription, which the copperplate bears, was published by Prānnāth Paṇḍit of Calcutta, with the help of Paṇḍit Īśvarachandra Vidyāsāgara, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XLIII (1874), part 1, pp. 318-24 and pl. XVIII, and noticed by Professor Kielhorn in his *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 53, under No. 366. Since the original copperplate is missing and the indifferent facsimile² published by Prānnāth Paṇḍit is the only material available at present for a fresh edition of the record, it is impossible to read the entire text with absolute certainty. The only thing that can be done, therefore, is to compare his reading with the facsimile and suggest emendations or express doubts, whenever there may be room for them.

This is a **single plate** engraved on both sides and is thus described by Prānnāth Paṇḍit: "It measures about 7½ inches in length and 7 inches in breadth, with an extreme thickness of one-eighth of an inch. It has a curvature at the top, which would seem to have been designed to serve the purpose of a handle. The extreme length from the top of the curvature is over 9 inches. In this space are delineated, on the first face the figure of a crescent surmounted by a sun, and on the second face, the figure of Viṣṇu riding on Garuḍa." Not having seen the copperplate it is not possible to vouch for the correctness of this description or furnish any further details about the record. Nor can we determine how far the published facsimile correctly portrays the forms of letters in the original. The inscription consists of 41 lines of which eighteen are engraved on the obverse and twenty-three on the reverse.

The **characters** are evidently proto-Bengali and akin to those used in the

¹ Banerji, *J.A.S.B.*, N. S., Vol. VI (1910), p. 485 ff.

² Prānnāth Paṇḍit remarks "The left side of the second face is to a considerable extent worn away, and could not without difficulty be decyphered." (*loc. cit.*, p. 319). But the facsimile of the second face of the plate is not in keeping with this remark and shows very little sign of wear and tear. Again, many letters have extraordinary appearances, e.g., *skha* in l. 4, the first *n* in l. 5 and *su* in *Vāsudeva*, in l. 12. This shows that the facsimile is not a mechanical reproduction of the copper-plate.

Bodhgayā inscriptions dated in years 51 and 83 of the Lakshmaṇa Sena era¹ and the Gayā inscription of Govindapāla of 1175 A.D.²—The **language** is Sanskrit, partly prose and partly verse. With the exception of the introductory phrase *om śubham=astu* followed by the date *Śakābdāḥ 1165*, in line 1, and the portion describing the land granted in lines 26-34, the whole inscription is in verse. It contains altogether eleven stanzas which are in a variety of metres viz. Śārdūlavikrīḍita, Mandākrāntā, Vasantatilaka, Sragdharā, Upajāti, Anuṣṭubh and Mālinī. Its **orthography** calls for no special remarks excepting that both *b* and *v* are denoted by the same sign. The *avagraha* is used but not in all cases.

(The inscription opens with *om śubham=astu* together with a date, evidently the date of the transaction recorded in it, viz. the Śaka year 1165 equivalent to **1243 A.D.** (l. 1).) This is followed by one adulatory stanza in honour of **Dāmodara**, i.e., Viṣṇu, and also indirectly of the reigning king (v. 1), and another stanza proclaiming the victory of the Moon god (v. 2). In the family of the Moon flourished **Purushottama**. His son was king (*nṛpati*) **Madhusūdana** whose son again was **Vāsudeva** (v. 3). Vāsudeva's son was **Dāmodara** (v. 4). The person who carried out the execution of the grant was the minister of Dāmodara (v. 6). It consisted of 5 *droṇas* of land in **Dāmbāraḍāma** and was given away by the king by means of a copper-plate, to the Yajurvedī Brāhmaṇa Prithvīdharaśarmman according to an order conveyed through his *Mahāmahattaka* (v. 7). (Of this land three *droṇas* lay in **Kāmanāpīṇḍiyāka** and two *droṇas* in the village of **Ketaṅgapālā** (v. 8).) The respective boundaries of the two plots of land are next given in lines 26ff. (for details see translation). The record is concluded by three of the customary verses (vv. 9-11) which are given in ll. 34-39.

The royal dynasty, who issued this copperplate charter, is not known from any other source. Regarding the first member of this family, Purushottama, no phrases are used indicating his kingly position like what is found in the case of the following three members, viz., Madhusūdana, Vāsudeva and Dāmodara. Their official **seal** bears the representation of Viṣṇu on Garuḍa, the opening verse is addressed to him and the names of all the four persons are synonymous of 'Viṣṇu.' From these circumstances we can naturally conclude that they professed the Vaiṣṇava faith like the Varmanas and the Senas. The places mentioned in the copperplate I am unable to identify.)

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, pls. opposite p. 28 and *JBORS.*, Vol. IV, p. 266 ff and plate with corrections in *Ind. Ant.*, 1919, p. 43 ff.

² *Mem. A.S.B.*, Vol. V, No. 3, pl. XXVIII.

TEXT.

Obverse.

- 1 ॐ¹ शुभमस्तु शकाब्दाः ११६५ ॥ ² देवि प्रातरवेहि नन्दनवनाम्नदः कदम्बानिलो
वाति व्यस्तक-
2 रः शशीति कृतकेनालाप्य कौतूहली । तत्काल-
3 खलदङ्गभङ्गिमचलामालिङ्ग्य लक्ष्मीं वलादालोलान-
4 नविम्बचुम्बनपरः प्रीणातु दामोदरः ॥ [1*] ³ अश्वोजश्री-
5 हरणपिशुनः प्रेमभूः कैरवानां चूडारत्नं त्रिपुरज-
6 यिनः केलिकारो निशायाः । लीलागारं कुसुमधनुषो
7 बभ्रुरश्वोनिधीनां श्रीमानेको जयति जगदानन्दका-
8 री मृगाङ्कः ॥ [2*] ⁴ यदंशप्रभवेन्दुसुन्दरयशोनिधीतलो-
9 कतयीबन्धोः श्रीपुरुषोत्तमस्य तनयः प्रौढप्रतापो-
10 ⁵ भवत् । देवः श्रीमधुसूदनाख्यनृपतिर्येनापि सेवान-
11 मत्-भूमीपालललाटघृष्टचरणः श्रीवासुदेवोऽजनि ॥ [3*]
12 ⁶ तस्यात्मजः प्रणतराजशिरोमणिश्री.....ताङ्गि?
13 नखचन्द्रमयूखमालः । प्रज्ञाप्रसाधितमहोदयितेश्वरः⁸
14 श्रीदामोदरः सकलभूपतिचक्रवर्त्ती ॥ [4*] ⁹ यस्यैत[द्]यश-
15 सोल्लवलेन भुवनं निष्कालिकं कुर्व्यता शत्रुस्त्रीजनलो-
16 चनाञ्जनकणासारं न तत् शेषितं । किञ्चायञ्च¹⁰ विप-
17 क्षराजकमुखे तात्कालिकः कालिमा नीलीरागभर-
18 शिराय कलुषप्रागल्भ्यमभ्यस्यति ॥ [5*] ¹¹ एतस्याजन्मयुद्धव्यसनविजयि-

Reverse.

- 19 नः सव्यदोर्दण्डचण्डो लक्ष्मीविश्रामभूमिः प्रतिनृपतिशिरःशे-
20 खराराधिताङ्गिः¹² । अश्रान्तत्यागवारिस्त्रपितवसुमतीकल्पवृक्षः
21 स एकः सर्वामात्यैकमुख्यो जयति गुणधरः¹³ शासनस्योपने-
22 ता ॥ [6*] ¹⁴ सर्वामात्यशिरःशिरीषकुसुमप्रत्यर्चिताङ्गिहयश्रीम-

¹ Expressed by symbol.² Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.³ P. reads *kirmirīti*.⁴ P. reads *day'taprabhaḥ*, but as the letter after *ta* looks like *śra* I suggest the above reading.⁵ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁶ Reading doubtful.⁷ P. reads *gunavarah*.⁸ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁹ P. reads *ottarah*.¹⁰ Reading doubtful.¹¹ P. reads *gunavarah*.¹² Reading doubtful.¹³ P. reads *gunavarah*.¹⁴ P. reads *gunavarah*.³ Metre : Mandākṛāntā.⁶ Metre : Vasantatilaka.¹¹ Metre : Śragdharā.¹⁴ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

- 22 इत्तमहामहत्तकमुखादेशेन ताम्नीकृतां । पञ्चद्रोणभुवं हि-
 23 जाय स ददौ राजा यजुर्वेदिने श्रीपृथ्वीधरशर्मणे सुकृतिने
 24 डाम्भारडामेऽर्थिने¹ ॥ [7*] ²यथाप्रसिद्धम्परसीमया भुवो द्रो-
 25 णतयं कामनापीण्डयाके³ । तथैव भूद्रोणयुगं प्रसिद्धं
 26 केतङ्गपालाभि(ध)पल्लिकायां⁴ ॥ { 8* } यत् डाम्भार(डा)मं कामनपी-
 27 ण्डियाग्रामे पूर्वं राजपथसीमा दक्षिणे लवणीत्सवाग्रम-
 28 ⁵सम्बाधावाटी सीमा पश्चिमे नव्रापाल्यभू सीमा उत्तरे मृतच्च-
 29 ङासीमा एवं चतुःसीमावच्छिन्न सवास्तुनालभूद्रोण⁶ ३ तथा-
 30 केतङ्गपालाग्रामे पूर्वं लम्बशालनभूसीमा दक्षिणे नव्रापा-
 31 ल्यभूसीमा पश्चिमे गोपथासीमा उत्तरे मृतच्चङासीमा एवं चतुःसी-
 32 मावच्छिन्न स वा ना⁷ भूद्रो १ तथा ग्रामे वाघपोखिरा दक्षिण-
 33 पश्चिम-उत्तरे स वा ना भूद्रो १ डा⁸भू २ (ए)वं ग्रामद्वये स वा ना भू-
 34 द्रोण ५ भवन्ति चात्र धर्मानुशंसिनः श्लोकाः ॥ ⁹बहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता
 35 राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(म्) ॥ [9*]
 36 भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति । उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्माणी
 37 नियतं स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥ [10*] ¹⁰चलदलजललोलं जीवनं यौवनस्तत् धनमिद-
 38 मनुचिन्त्याश्रान्तमेतत् कृतज्ञाः । कुरुत कुरुत चित्तं श्रेयसे पुण्यभाजं
 39 भवति हि प(र)कीर्त्तिः पालिता सा निजैव ॥ [11*]

TRANSLATION.

(L. 1). Om ! May there be prosperity ! The Śaka year 1165.

(Verse 1). "Oh ! goddess, know it to be morning : the gentle breeze (carrying the fragrance) of *kadamba* flowers blows from the Nandana forest and the Moon has lost its beams." Having thus with eagerness and in an affected manner addressed her, (the god) Dāmodara forcibly embraced Lakshmī whose limbs at the time were unsteady, and who was in a helpless and disturbed condition, and he kissed the orb of her agitated face. May thou Dāmodara be pleased !

(Verse 2). Triumphant be the beautiful Moon, cruel in robbing the lotus of its charm, the beloved of white lilies, the crest-jewel of the conqueror of Tripura

¹ Reading doubtful.

² P. reads *-paimāyāke*.

³ P. reads *sambādhā*, but *sambādhā* seems to be intended.

⁴ Here and in two other places in line 33, P. reads *saṁdā*. It appears, however, to be an abbreviation for *saṁdāstunāla* (*bhā*).

⁵ It is an abbreviation for *drāghyām*. Cf. above p. 146, l. 51.

⁶ Metre of vv. 9-10 : Anuṣṭubh.

⁷ Metre : Upendravajrī.

⁸ Read *-pallikāyam*.

⁹ P. reads *Laba*.

¹⁰ Metre : Mālinī.

(i.e. Śiva), the husband of Night, the pleasure-house of the one who has flowers to his bow (i.e. Madana, the god of love), the friend of oceans and the unique gladdener of the world.

(Verse 3). In his family was born **Purushottama**, as handsome as the Moon and a friend of the three worlds bathed in his fame. His son was the valorous lord, king **Madhusūdana** by name. By him was begotten **Vāsudeva** whose feet were rubbed by the foreheads of princes bowing down to him in homage.

(Verse 4). His son was **Dāmodara**, the overlord of all kings. The multitude of beams of the moon-like nails of his feet flashed with the brilliance of the crest-jewels of princes bowing down to him; and he lorded over them reduced to subjection by his wisdom.

(Verse 5). Although by his bright fame he absolutely removed the blackness of the world over which was showered the collyrium particles from the eyes of the wives of his enemies, his (stock of) fame was never exhausted. What had been blackness before now turned into everlasting blue on the faces of his opposing princes, striving to establish its prominence (only) in impurity.

(Verse 6). May there be victory to that worthy framer of (this) charter, the foremost of all the ministers of this king, who since his very birth has been triumphant in calamitous warfare. He (the minister) was mighty (even) with his club-like left arm and was the abode of Fortune; his feet were held in adoration by the crowned heads of hostile kings; and he was the unique Kalpa tree on the Earth bathed in the water of (his) ceaseless donation.

(Verse 7). That king gave away in **Ḍāmbāraḍāma** 5 *droṇas* of land—which was granted by means of a copper-plate, under orders conveyed through his *Mahāmahattaka* by the illustrious one (i.e. the king), who had his two feet worshipped by *Śrīṣha* flowers, namely, the heads of all his ministers—to the suppliant, Prithvīdharaśarmman, a meritorious Yajurvedī Brāhmaṇa.

(Verse 8). Three *droṇas* of land, demarcated by boundaries in **Kāmanā-piṇḍiyāka** and two *droṇas* of land, similarly demarcated in the hamlet called **Ketaṅgapālā**.

(L. 28): (Wherein, in **Ḍāmbāraḍāma**, in the village of **Kāmanapīṇḍiyā** :—on the east, bounded by the public road; on the south, bounded by the edifice attached to Lavaṇotsavāśrama; on the west, bounded by the land (known as) Navrāpālya; and on the north, bounded by Mṛitachchadā—the land having these four boundaries, measuring 3 *droṇas* and consisting of homestead and arable plots. And in the village of **Ketaṅgapālā** :—on the east, bounded by the

land (known as) **Lambaśāsana** ; on the south, bounded by the land (known as) Navrāpālya ; on the west, bounded by the cattle-track ; and on the north, bounded by Mṛitachchadā—the land having these four boundaries and consisting of homestead and arable land measuring 1 *drona*. Again in (that) village, homestead and arable land measuring 1 *drona* situated to the south, west and north of Bāghapokhirā—altogether these two *dronas* of land in two plots.) Thus in all 5 *dronas* of homestead and arable land belonging to the two villages.—There are also verses enjoining Dharma in this matter.

[Here follow three of the customary verses (vv. 9-11) of which the first two have been already translated. See p. 9, vv. 12 and 9].

(Verse 11). Considering that life, youth and wealth are as unsteady as a drop of water on a shaking (lotus) petal and knowing what is right, concentrate your restless mind in piety for (your) welfare. The good deeds of others, if protected, become like your own.

APPENDICES

1. DHULLĀ COPPER-PLATE OF ŚRĪCHANDRA

This copperplate, which was discovered by Mr. N. K. Bhattasali, Curator of the Dacca Museum in 1925, has not yet been published. But Mr. Bhattasali has very kindly placed at my disposal a transcript of the record in the light of which an account is given below with his permission. The copperplate is now deposited in the Dacca Museum.

Like the Rāmpāl and Kedārpur copperplates (above, p. 1ff and p. 10 ff) it is a single plate inscribed on both sides and has the *Dharma-chakra* seal attached to the top. The inscription consists of 47 lines of which 23 are engraved on the obverse and 24 on the reverse.

It consists of the following verses :—

v. 1—वन्द्यो जिन स्त भगवान् etc. (R and K. 1*); v. 2—चन्द्राणाम् (R. 2); v. 3—बुधस्य (R. 3); v. 4—दर्शस्य (R. 4); v. 5—पुत्रस्तस्य (R. 5); v. 6—ज्योत्स्नेव (R. 6); v. 7—स राजयोगिन (R. 7); v. 8—एकातपत्राभरणाश्वम् (R. 8); and v. 9—स्यष्ट[:] (K. 7).

These verses occur in lines 1 to 17 on the obverse. Towards the end of line 17 begins the prose portion स खलु etc. which is continued up to line 41 on the reverse side. The following benedictive and imprecatory verses then occur in lines 41 to 46 :

v. 10—भूमिं यः (R. 9); v. 11—षष्टिर्ष्वर्ष (R. 10); v. 12—स्वदत्ताम् (R. 11); v. 13—बहुभिर्व्वसुधा (R. 12); and v. 14—इति कमलदलाम्बु (R. 13).

The record is dated (in line 46) in the year 35, the 25th day of Jyāishṭha. The abbreviated form of endorsement : महामा नि अनु महाच्च नि occurs at the end, in lines 46-47.

The inscription was issued from Vikramapura like the two other copperplates of Śrīchandradeva (l.17). He as well as his father Trailokyachandradeva, bears the same titles as in the Rāmpāl and Kedārpur copperplates. The inscription records a grant of land in the Paṇḍra-bhukti, which is as follows :—

(1) In the village of Durvvāpattra in Vallīmūṇḍāmaṇḍala situated in Khe-diravallī-vishaya—4 *halas*.

* R denotes the Rāmpāl and K, the Kedārpur copper-plate. The figures 1, 2 etc. refer to the number of the verses.

(2) In Loṇiyājodāprastara (prāntara ?)—3 *halas*.

(3) In Tivaravillī village—2 *halas*.

(4) In the village of Parkaḍimundā in Yolāmaṇḍala in Ikkaḍāsīvishaya—2 *halas* and 6 *droṇas*.

(5) In the village of Mulapatrā (?)—7 *halas* : thus in all 19 (?) *halas* and 6 *droṇas* (lines 20 to 23).

This land was granted by king Śrīchandra in the name of Buddhabhaṭṭāraka (line 37) to the *Śāntivārika* Vyāsagaṅgaśarmanman who belonged to the Vārddhakaśika *gotra* and the *pravara* of the three Ṛishis, and was a student of the Kāṇvaśākhā. He was a son of Vibhugaṅga, grandson of Nandagaṅga and great-grandson of Jayagaṅga. The gift was made on account of his having conducted the *Adbhutaśānti* ceremony on the occasion of the performance of the Four Homas (lines 33 to 36). The seal *Dharmma-chakramudrā*, attached to the copperplate, is mentioned in line 38.

It should be noted that like the Rāmpāl copperplate this one also was granted in favour of a *Śāntivārika*, or 'the priest in charge of propitiatory rites.' The former gift was made on the occasion of Koṭīhoma ceremony and the latter on the performance of a certain propitiatory rite called *Adbhuta-śānti*, during the *Homachatusṭaya* or the Four Homas. That a Buddhist like Śrīchandra could take active part in Brahmanical observances of this nature is a fact of paramount interest for the history of Buddhism in Northern India during the Pāla period.

2. EDILPUR COPPER-PLATE OF ŚRICHANDRA

On pp. 2-3 mention has been made of an unpublished copper-plate of Śrīchandra, found at Edilpur in the Faridpur district. An account of this plate prepared by the late Mr. Gangunohan Laskar was published by Mr. J. T. Rankin, I.C.S. in the *Dacca Review* for October, 1912 which has been reproduced by Mr. N. K. Bhattasali in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVII, pp. 189-90. The original plate exists, but I am told is not available.

It is a single plate engraved on both sides and has the *Dharmachakra* seal attached to the top. The inscription which consists of 36 lines seems to contain the following verses :—

v. 1—वन्द्यो जिनः (R. and K. 1); v. 2—नाम्नो विशुद्धः (K. 3);
v. 3—probably दर्शस्य माता (R. 4); v. 4—त्रैलोक्यसंकीर्तितपुण्यकीर्तिः
(K. 4); v. 5—चतुःपयोरशि (K. 5); v. 6—uncertain ; v. 7—स राजयोगिन
(R. 7); and v. 8—uncertain.

These verses occur in lines 1 to 18. The subsequent portion of the record states that it was issued from Vikramapura (lines 18-19), being granted by the *Paramasaugata*, *Parameśvara*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, the *Mahārājādhirāja* Śrī-chandradeva who 'meditated on the feet' of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Trailokya-chandradeva (lines 20-21). The grant consisted of a piece of land in the village of Leliyā in the Kumāratālakamaṇḍala situated in the Satata-Padmāvāṭivishaya. The name of the donee and other details are not known.

3. A COPPER-PLATE OF HARIVARMAN

Besides the Belāva copper-plate of Bhojavarmman there seems to exist another copper-plate of the Varman dynasty of Eastern Bengal. It belongs to the reign of the *Parama-raishṇava*, *Parameśvara*, *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* Harivarmman (above p. 28), son of *Mahārājādhirāja* Jyotirvarman—who represent, according to some scholars, a collateral branch of the main Varman family. The copper-plate was issued from Vikramapura. A very indistinct photograph of only one side of the plate is given by Mr. N. N. Vasu in his *Castes and Sects of Bengal (Vaṅger Jātīya-Itihās)*, Vol. II. frontispiece. On pp. 215-217 he also gives an extremely tentative reading of a portion of the document which I am afraid is too conjectural to be utilized for historical purposes. The plate is referred to also by Mr. R. D. Banerji in his *Pālas of Bengal*, pp. 97-98, where he quotes only a portion of the record as follows:—
“Mahārājādhirāja-Śrīmad-Jyotirvarmmadeva-pādānudhyāta-Paramavaishṇava-Parameśvara- Paramabhaṭṭāraka- Mahārājādhirāja - śrīmad - Harivarmmadevaḥ kuśālī.”

The copper-plate cannot be traced at present.

4. PAIKORE IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF VIJAYASENA

This inscription, which consists of a single line, is engraved on a stone pillar surmounted by a figure of Manasā, ‘the serpent goddess,’ discovered at the village of Paikore in the District of Birbhum. It was first published in 1920 by Kumar Mahimanirājan Chakravarti of Hetampur in his *Birbhum-ricaran*. Vol. II, p. 10 and subsequently by Mr. K. N. Dikshit in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1921-22, pp. 78-79 and 80, and Pl. XXVIII, b. The inscription reads as follows :

....राजेन श्रीविजयसे(नेन)...

It appears that a number of letters from the beginning and end of the inscription have peeled off. King Vijayasena mentioned in this inscription has been identified with Vijayasena of the Sena Dynasty.

5. SUNDARBAN COPPER-PLATE OF LAKSHMANASENA

This copper-plate was discovered sometime about the year 1868 in that portion of the Sundarbans which is now within the District of 24-Parganas. No definite information is available about its actual find place, or the circumstances under which it came to light.¹ Unfortunately the copper-plate was lost soon after its discovery. It seems to have been first mentioned in Marshman's *History of Bengal*, 1868, p. 4. Tentative readings of it were published by Pandit Rāmgati Nyāyaratna in his *Essay on Bengali Language and Literature* (Bengali), Part II, p. 371, and by Hiranmay Mukherji in the *Mitrodaya*, Vol. I, No. 6, p. 37. In 1880 Kailaschandra Sinha published his own version of the text in the *Bhāratī*, Vol. IV, pp. 495-62, which in many respects was an improvement on those of his predecessors. Although he could not examine the original plate which was missing, he had the advantage of the text of the Tarpanadighi copper-plate published in the *Journal the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1875, Part I, pp. 11-12. He, however, in attempting to restore the original text completely often went too far, as many passages which do not evidently occur in it were imported from the published text of the latter copper-plate.

Since the discovery of this plate and the Tarpanadighi one, some more plates of the Sena dynasty have been published, and the knowledge of Indian epigraphy has made considerable advance. An attempt to reconstruct the text of the lost document is now much more possible than it was in 1880.

This appears to have been a single plate engraved on both sides, bearing the seal of Sadāśiva soldered to the top. We do not know how many lines the inscription contained or such details as the size of the plate and of the inscribed letters.

The language is Sanskrit, partly prose and partly verse. There are seven verses at the beginning which are exactly the same as those, for instance, in the Ānuliā copper-plate of Lakshmanasena (see above pp. 85-86) and occur in the same order as in that record. Towards the end again are four verses three of which are the customary ones, and the fourth mentions the name of the *Dūta*. The remaining portion of the inscription is in prose.

¹ A writer in the Bengali Journal *Bhāratavandana*, 1332 B. S., p. 622 says that it was found by the late Babu Haridas Dutt, Zamindar of Majilpur in excavating a tank in the village of Bakultala to the south of Kasimagar in the Diamond Harbour subdivision of the 24 Parganas.

(The inscription is one of the *Parameśvara*, *Paramanārasimha*,¹ *Paramabhatta*, *raka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious Lakshmanasenadeva, 'who meditated on the feet of' the *Mahārājādhirāja* Vallālasena and is issued from 'the camp of victory' at Vikramapura. It is addressed to his various officials and other persons who are enumerated in exactly the same manner as in his other copper-plates. The grant consisted of a plot of land (*kiyān*=*api bhūbhāga*) of a village called Maṇḍalagrāma (?), along with a homestead, measuring 3 *bhū-droṇas*, 1 *khādīkā* (?), 23 *ummānas* and 2½ *kākiṇīs*, according to the standard of 32 cubits=1 *ummāna* and 1 cubit=12 *aṅgulas* (?), as marked on the pillar of Ugramādhava (?) and yielding an annual income of 50 *purāṇas*. The village was situated in Kāntallapura-*chaturaka* belonging to Khādī-maṇḍala of the Paṇḍravardhana-*bhukti*. The boundaries of the plot are as follows: to the east, the land granted to the *Śāntyāgārika*² Prabhāsa; to the south, half of the Chitāḍī canal (*Chitāḍī-khāta*); to the west, the eastern side of the land granted to the *Śāntyāgārika* Rāmadeva; to the north, the land of the *Śāntyāgārikas* Viṣṇupāṇi (?) Gaḍolī and Keśava Gaḍolī. The donee was the *Śāntyāgārika* Kṛṣṇadharadevaśarmman, son of Narasiṃhadharadevaśarmman, grandson of Nārāyaṇadharadevaśarmman and great-grandson of Jagaddharadevaśarmman, belonging to Gārgya-*gotra*, Āṅgīrasa, Bṛihaspati, Uśanas (?), Garga and Bharadvāja *pravaras* and a student of the Āśvalāyana *śākhā* of the R̥gveda. The name of the *dāta* is not clear; it might be Nārāyaṇa datta, the *dāta* of Lakshmanasena's three other copper-plates. The date is the year 2 (or 3), the 10th day of Māgha. The abbreviated form of official endorsement *Śrī ni Mahāsā ni*, familiar to us from other Sena records, appears to be given at the end.

Khādī-vishaya of the Paṇḍravardhana-bhukti occurs in ll.31-32 of the Barrackpore copper-plate of Vijayasena (see above p. 60). As noted by Hiranmay Mukherji³, editor of the *Mitrodāya* and Pandit Rāṅgati Nyāya-ratna⁴, Khādī is at present the name of a Pargana in Diamond Harbour Subdivision. As regards the canal Chitāḍī-khāta the former says that there is even now a canal called Chitāḍī-khal in this region.)

I now give below my reconstruction of the text, omitting of course the first seven verses which are already well-known from other records.

¹ This title is used by Lakshmanasena in his Govindapur and Mādhamagar plates. See above pp. 95 and 111.

² See remarks above p. 112, n. 5.

³ *Mitrodāya*, Vol. I, No. 6, p. 37 quoted by Karas Chandra Sinha see now *Bharatavarsha*, 1332 B. S., pp. 622-23.

⁴ *Essay on Bengali Language and Literature* (3rd ed.), Intro. to 1st ed., p. 22.

ABSTRACT OF TEXT.

(R=Rāmgati Nyāyaratna's readings and K=those of Kailas Chandra Sinha).

स खलु श्रीविक्रमपुरसमावासितश्रीमज्जयस्तम्भावारात् महाराजाधिराजश्रीवक्त्रालसेन-
पादानुध्यातपरमेश्वरपरमनारसिंह¹परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजः श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणसेनदेवः (कुशली)
(समुपगताशेष) राजराजन्यकराञ्जीराणकराजपुत्रराजामात्यपुरोहितधर्माध्यक्षमहासाम्बिविग्रहिक-
महासेनापतिमहासुद्राधिकृतअन्तरङ्ग²वृहदुपरिकमहाक्षपटलिकमहाप्रतीहारमहाभोगिकमहापी-
लुपतिमहागणस्थ³-दौःसाधिक⁴-चौरोद्धरणिकनौवलहस्यखगोमहिषाजाविकादिव्याघ्रतकगौत्तिक-
दण्डपाशिकदण्डनायकविषयपत्यादीन् अन्यांश्च⁵ सकलराजपादोपजीविनोऽध्यक्षप्रचारोक्तानिहा-
कीर्त्तितान् चट्टभट्टजातीयान् जनपदान् चैतकरान् ब्राह्मणान् ब्राह्मणोत्तरान् यथाहं मानयति⁶
बोधयति समादिशति च । मतमस्तु भवतां यथा पौण्ड्रवहनेभुक्त्यन्तःपातिखाडोमण्डले⁷
कान्तल्लपुरचतुरके⁸ पूर्व शान्त्यागारिकप्रभासशासनं⁹ सीमा दक्षिणे चिताडिखाताडं सोमा पश्चिमे
शान्त्यागारिक¹⁰-रामदेवशासनपूर्वपाश्वः सोमा उत्तरे शान्त्यागारिक¹¹-विष्णुपाणिगडोलीकेशव-
गडोलीभूमि सीमा इत्यं चतुःसीमावच्छिन्नः श्रीमदुग्रमाधवपादोयस्तम्भाङ्कित¹² द्वादशाङ्गुलाधिक-
हस्तेन(?) द्वात्रिंशद्वस्तपरिमितोन्मानेनोद्धृत्या¹³(?) सार्द्धकाकिणीद्वयाधिकतयोर्विंशत्युन्मानोत्तर¹⁴-
खाडिक¹⁵(?) समेतः भूद्रोणत्रयात्मकः सम्बत्सरेण पञ्चाशत्पुराणोत्पत्तिकः सवासुचिह्नः
मण्डलग्रामीयः(?)¹⁶ कियानपि भूभागः सभाटविटपः¹⁷ सजलस्थलः सगर्त्तधरः सगुवाकनारिकेलः
सह्यदशपरधः¹⁸ परिहृतसर्वपोडोऽचट्टभट्टप्रवेशोऽकिञ्चित्प्रयाह्यस्तृणयूतिगोचरपर्यन्तः जगद्धर-
देवशर्मणः प्रपौत्राय नारायणधरदेवशर्मणः पौत्राय नरसिंहधरदेवशर्मणः पुत्राय गर्गसमोत्राय
अङ्गिरोवृहस्यत्युशन¹⁹गर्गभरहाजप्रवराय ऋग्वेदाश्वलायनशाखाध्यायिने शान्त्यागारिक²⁰-श्रीकृष्ण-
धरदेवशर्मणे पुण्येऽहनि विधिवदुदकपूर्वकं भगवन्तं श्रीमन्नारायणभट्टारकमुद्दिश्य मातापित्रो
रात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोऽभिवृद्धये²¹ उत्सृज्याचन्द्रार्केक्षितिसमकालं यावत् भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन
ताम्रशासनीकृत्य प्रदत्तोऽस्माभिः । तद्भवद्भिः सर्वैरेवानुमन्तव्यं भाविभिरपि नृपतिभिरपहरणे
नरकपातभयात् पालने धर्मगौरवात् पालनीयम् ।

¹ Paramatrisinhu R; Paramatrisinhu K

² mahāgarapati R; mahāgarapati K

³ ganyāms cha R and K.

⁴ Khādī mandali R and K.

⁵ śāntyaśārika R and K.

⁶ śāntyaśārika R and K.

⁷ The significance of this portion is not clear owing to some misreading which cannot be detected.

⁸ paramānānana R and K.

⁹ śāntyaśārika R; śāntyaśārika (śāntyaśārika) K. My emendation is not certain.

¹⁰ Mandalaśāntyaśārika R; Mandalaśāntyaśārika K.

¹¹ sakshadasāparādhah R; sakshāśāparādhah K.

¹² śāntyaśārika R and K.

¹³ After this K. introduces certain passages from the Tarpana-tīkhi plate.

¹⁴ śāntyaśārika R; śāntyaśārika K.

¹⁵ dāhśāntyaśārika R; dāhśāntyaśārika K.

¹⁶ śāntyaśāntyaśārika R; śāntyaśāntyaśārika K.

¹⁷ Cf. Govindapur plate, l. 31. Bhaddachaturaka.

¹⁸ śāntyaśārika R and K.

¹⁹ śāntyaśārika R and K.

²⁰ śāntyaśārika R and K.

²¹ śāntyaśārika R and K.

²² śāntyaśārika R and K.

²³ śāntyaśārika R and K.

²⁴ śāntyaśārika R and K.

²⁵ śāntyaśārika R and K.

²⁶ śāntyaśārika R and K.

भवन्ति चात्र धर्मानुशंसिनः श्लोकाः ।¹

भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति ।
 उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्माणौ नियतं स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥
 स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत् वसुध्वरां ।
 स विष्ठायां क्लमिर्भूत्वा पिबेति स ह पच्यते ॥
 इति कमलदलाख्यविन्दुलोलां श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितञ्च ।
 सकलमिदमुदाहृतञ्च बुद्ध्वा न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्तयौ विलोप्याः ॥
 श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणसेनचौणीन्द्रो² सान्धिविग्रहिकं³
 नारायणदत्तमकरोत् कृष्णधरस्य शासने दूतं⁴ ॥
 सं २⁵माघदिने १० श्री नि महासा नि⁶ ॥

¹ After this K. introduces the verse *Bahabhir- vrasudhā* etc.

² *kṣaṇṇābhānu* - R and K.

³ After the letter *hi* R has *Keśaripra- vādhiṇā gaskūrāt* and K *kama* * * . The reading *Nārāyaṇadatta* is probable but not certain. He was the *dūta* in Lakṣmaṇasena's three other copperplates of the years 2 and 3.

⁴ *śāsanikṛitam* - R and K.

⁵ This may be 3 as K says. But R transcribes it as *ha* which would resemble the sign for '2' rather than '3.'

⁶ *māne matāsātih* - R.

6. EXTRACT FROM THE ADBHUTASĀGARA

The *Adbhutaśāgara* ascribed to Vallālasena gives the following description of the Senas (see Muralidhara Jhā's ed., Prabhākari Co., Benares, 1905, pp. 1-4) :

नृपकोटिकिरीटरोचिरंशुस्त्रपेनग्रांशुनखांशुमञ्जरोकैः ।

‘चरणैर्धरणीं प्रसाधयन्तो वि’ यदोजोऽधिकमासतेन्दुवंश्याः ॥ [१]

भुजातेजस्तेषामियमसहमानेव वसुधा

द्विधा भावं-भावं नवशकलभावं गतवती ।

यशोलेपानां तद्विलसितमहो नियमभवद्-

विदीर्णब्रह्माण्डस्यविरपिठरीकर्परपटः ॥ [२]

भुवः काञ्चीलीलाचतुरचतुरश्लोधिहरी-

परीताया भर्ताऽजनि विजयसेनः शशिकुले ।

यदीयैरद्यापि प्रचितभुजतेजःसहचरै-

यंशोभिः शोभन्ते परिधिपरिणीता इव दिशः ॥ [३]¹

वेदायनैकपथिकः ककुभां भुजङ्गः संग्रामरङ्ग इव जङ्गमतामुपेतः ।

चेतोमहौषधिवेशवशाहितश्रीर्वस्त्रालसेन इति भूमिपतिस्ततोऽभूत् ॥ [४]

किं लक्ष्म्या तुलयामि कातरगतं पान्थ्या नृणां तं सुरं

लक्षाप्याजिविचम्बितां स सकलं धत्ते सुदोस्सम्पदम् ।

यस्याङ्घ्रिः पतिभैक्ष्यकाकुविलुठद्विद्वेषिनारीशिरः—

सिन्दूरोत्करमुद्रितो जनलिपिर्निर्मक्तियन्त्रं द्विषाम् ॥ [५]

मन्दारोदयसेवितोऽपि न गिरिभ्रान्त्याऽतिभूतः क्व चिद्-

व्यक्तग्राहविचेष्टितोऽपि विततो नक्षत्रवर्षी वल्लः ।

आपक्ष्णपरायणचित्तिभृतां तुङ्गेरनङ्गीकृतः

सर्वत्राङ्गतसागरोऽवनिभृता तेनायमारभ्यते ॥ [६]

मौमांसालयमांसल स्मृतिपरामर्षप्रकर्षस्फुरद्-

वेदाङ्गागमतत्त्वनिस्तुषमतिर्निःशङ्कपृथ्वीपतिम् ।

युक्तायुक्तिरूपणप्रणयिनं प्रीत्या महीनायनं

वंशोत्तंसमहाधरद्वनिलयश्रीः श्रीनिवासं व्यधात् ॥ [७]

¹ This verse occurs with slight modification in some of the copper-plates of Lakshmaṇasena. See above p. 86, v. 5.

ज्योतिर्विदार्यवचनानि विचार्य तेषां तात्पर्यपर्यवसितो यथानातुपूर्णा ।

विप्रप्रसादनवशादवसादवुद्धिर्निःशङ्कशङ्करनृपः कुरुते प्रयत्नम् ॥ [८]

शाके नवाष्टखेन्द्रा — १०८८ ख्य आरिभेऽङ्गतसागरम् ¹

गोडेन्द्रकुञ्जालानस्तम्भवाहुर्महोपतिः ॥ [८]

ग्रन्थेऽस्मिन्नसमाप्त एव तनयेऽसास्त्राज्यलक्ष्मीं मुदा

दोक्षापर्वणि दक्षिणे निजकृतेर्निष्पत्तिमस्थापयत् ।

नानादानातिलाम्बुसंवलनभं सूर्यात्मजासङ्गमं

गङ्गायां विरचय्य निर्जरपुरं भार्यानुयातो गतः ॥ [१०]

श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणासेनभूपतिरतिश्लाघ्यो यदुद्योगतो

निष्पन्नोऽङ्गतसागरः कृतिरसौ वल्लभभूमोभुजः ।

ख्यातः केवलमर्णवः सगरजस्तातस्य तत्पूरण-

प्रावीण्येन भगीरथेन भुवनेष्वद्यापि विद्योतते ॥ [११]

¹ For other readings of this couplet containing a date see Banerji, *J. A. S. B.*, 1913, p. 275. On its genuineness see R. C. Majumdar, *J. A. S. B.*, 1924, p. 11 and p. 12 and ns. and D. C. Bhattacharya, *Ind. Ant.*, 1922, p. 146. Cf. Banerji, *Bāṅglār Itihās*, 2nd ed., pp. 321-22 and 333-36.

7. EXTRACT FROM THE DĀNASĀGARA

The *Dānasāgara* ascribed to Vallālasena has the following verses with reference to the Senas (see extract of the work published by Syama Charan Kaviratna, Calcutta, Śaka 1836, pp. 1-4 and cf. Eggeling, *Catalogue of Sans. MSS. in the India Office*, Part III, 1891, pp. 542-43) :

ये साक्षादवनीतलामृतभुजो वर्णाश्रमन्यायसां
 येषां पाणिषु निक्षिपन्ति कृतिनः पाथेयमामुष्मिकम् ।
 यद्वक्तोपगताः पुनन्ति जगतीं पुण्यास्त्रिवेदीगिर-
 स्तेभ्यो निर्भरभक्तिसम्भ्रम-नमन्मौलिद्विजेभ्यो नमः ॥ १ ॥
 इन्दोर्विश्वैकबन्धोः श्रुतिनियमगुरुः क्षत्रचारित्र्यार्थ-
 मर्यादागोत्रशूलः कलिचकितसदाचार-सञ्चारसीमा ।
 मधुसूतस्त्वच्छरत्त्रोज्ज्वल-पुरुषगणोऽच्छिन्नसन्तानधारा-
 वश्वैर्मुक्तासरश्रीर्निरगमदवनेर्भूषणं सेनवंशः ॥ २ ॥
 तत्रालङ्कृतसत्पथः स्थिरघनच्छायाभिरामः सतां
 स्वच्छन्दप्रणयोपभोगसुलभः कल्पद्रुमो जङ्गमः ।
 हेमन्तः परिपन्थिपङ्कजसरः सङ्घस्य नैसर्गिके-
 रुन्नीतः स्वगुणैरुदात्तमहिमा हेमन्तसेनोऽजनि ॥ ३ ॥
 तदनु विजयसेनः प्रादुरामीश्वरेन्द्रो
 दिशि विदिशि भजन्ते यस्य वीरध्वजत्वम् ।
 शिखर-विनिहितास्त्रा-वैजयन्तीं वहन्तः
 प्रणतिपरिगृहीताः प्रांशवो राजवंशाः ॥ ४ ॥
 सर्वशाः परिपूरयन्प्रचितश्रीर्दानवारां घनै-
 रासारैरभिषिक्त-निर्मलशयः-शालेय-भूमण्डलः ।
 दैन्योत्तापभृतामकालजलदः सर्वोत्तरः क्षमाभृतां
 श्रीवल्लालनृपस्ततोऽजनि गुणाविर्भावगर्भेश्वरः ॥ ५ ॥
 वेदार्थस्मृतिसंकथादिपुरुषः श्लाघ्यो वरेन्द्रीतले
 निस्तन्द्रोज्ज्वलधोविलासनयनः सारस्वतब्रह्मणि ।
 षट्कर्माऽभवदार्थशीलनिलयः प्रख्यातसत्यव्रतो
 हृत्कारिखि गोप्यतिर्नरपतेरस्यानिरुद्धो गुरुः ॥ ६ ॥

अधिगत-सकल-पुराणस्मृतिसारः अथवा गुरोरस्मात् ।
 कलिकल्मषावसादं दाननिबन्धं विधातुकामोऽपि ॥ ७ ॥
 दुरधिगम-धर्मनिर्णय-विषमाध्यवसाय-संशयस्तिमितः ।
 नरपतिरयमारुहे ब्राह्मणचरणारविन्द-परिचर्याम् ॥ ८ ॥
 शुश्रूषापरितोषितरविरतं सम्भूय भूदेवतै-
 र्दत्तामोघवरप्रसाद-विशद-स्वान्तस्खलत्संशयः ।
 श्रीबल्लालनरेश्वरो विरचयत्येतं गुरोः शिष्या
 स्वप्रज्ञावधि दानसागरमयं अद्वावतां श्रेयसे ॥ ९ ॥
 भूयो भूयः प्रणम्य क्षितिबलय-मिलन्मौलिवन्द्या द्विजेन्द्राः
 श्रीमद्बल्लालसेनः स्थिरविनयनिबद्धाञ्जलिर्याचते वः ।
 काले काले भवद्भिः स्मृतसुसुक्तलवैः पालनोयो ममायं
 सामान्यः पुण्यभार्जा भवजलधिमहासेतुबन्धो निबन्धः ॥ १० ॥

In the India Office MS. noticed by Eggeling (*op. cit.*, p. 545) the original work comes to an end with a list of authorities consulted, followed by the statement **इति दानसागरः समाप्तः** । Then are given a table of contents and a carelessly compiled list of authorities (now for the second time) in which the *Devīpurāṇa* and *Śrī-Bhāgavata*, mentioned in the first list, are omitted. Then comes a list of Bengal kings (**बङ्गदेशीयराज्ञामनुक्रमेण नामानि**)¹ followed by a rather uncanny sentence **अत्र सम्वत्सरादिसमयविशेषपरिचयाय दानसागरस्य निर्माणवर्षस्यैव सम्वत्सरत्व प्रतिपादनाय लिख्यते**, and finally, the oft-quoted chronogram yielding the Śaka year 1091 as the date of the work : **निखिलभूपचक्रतिलकश्रीमद्बल्लालसेनदेवेन पूर्वं शशिनवदशमित १०८१ शकवर्षे दानसागरो रचितः** ॥ Judging from the nature of the composition of the portion subsequent to **इति दानसागरः समाप्तः** it is extremely doubtful if it could be safely ascribed to the author of the *Dānasāgara*.

For additional chronogrammatic verses giving the same date 1091 occurring in certain MSS, see N. N. Vasu, *J.A.S.B.*, 1896, Pt. I, p. 23.

¹ The term **बङ्गदेशीय** has a distinctly modern appearance. Further, there is no meaning in inserting a genealogical list here as the family has been already described in no less than ten stanzas.

8. TRANSLATION OF INSCRIPTION XV :

CALCUTTA SĀHITYA-PARISHAT COPPER-PLATE OF VISVARUPASENA.¹

(For verses 1-7, 9-14 and 16-22 see above pages 126-29 and 138).

(Verse 8). Thousands of whose elephants on being goaded to the front by his army had by the flow (of their ichor) burst through the forts of the hostile princes ; and the latter being on the point of leaving this world appeared like those sinking in an ocean, desperately looking towards the shore.

(Verse 15). That crest-jewel of ladies, after creating whom the god Brahmā considered his hands sacred, who by her personal charms and conduct adorned the universe and whose desires were fulfilled by the co-wives Earth and Fortune—that illustrious queen **Tyashṭaṇadevī**,² who was able to attain the three-fold object (*viz.*, *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma*), became his chief consort.

(For lines 35-37 and 39-41 see above pages 129-30).

(L. 38). The *Paramaśvara*, *Paramabhūṭāraka*, 'the devout worshipper of the Sun,' *Mahārājāthirāja*, *Arirāja-rishabhāṅka-Saṅkara*, lord of **Gauḍa**, the illustrious **Viśvarūpasena** orders :

(Ll. 41-47). Be it known to you that : in **Rāmasiddhipāṭaka** which is in **Nāvya**³ in **Vaṅga**, included within the **Paundravardhana-bhukti**, 34½ *udānas*⁴ of homestead land having its four boundaries as follows :—on the south-west, **Varābhakunḍa** ('the tank of Varāha') ; on the east, **Devahāradeva-bhoga** ; on the south, **Bāṅgālabadā** ; and on the west and north, the river. And to the east of **Devahāra** 1 and 4½ *vyā bhū*, 1½ of homestead land and 26½ *udānas* of arable land ; to the north of **Devahāra** arable land, 2 and 1½ :—Thus land including homestead plots, measuring 67½ *udānas*⁵ and (yielding an income

¹ At first I gave up the idea of publishing a translation of the record, because in many places the text, as deciphered by M.M. Haraprasādi Sastri and for the time being adopted by me, would not yield any sensible interpretation. Correct readings, or better readings, of many of the doubtful passages occurred to me after a prolonged examination of the estampages, when the articles on the present record and the two subsequent ones were already in the final stage of printing. I could then introduce only some of the necessary corrections in the text and the introduction. But to insert a translation after the text was impossible as that would have upset the composition of all the subsequent pages. Hence it appears as an Appendix. Points where I differ from Sastri are mentioned in the footnotes.

² The name of the queen was read by Sastri as **टटृषदेवी**.

³ The manner in which the word is used in ll. 42 and 47, and again in ll. 64 and 65, shows that it has to be taken as a geographical term.

⁴ From l. 59 it appears that *udāna* and *vanāudāna* are synonymous.

⁵ This is followed by the expression **यामपत्या** which is not intelligible. A word, which Sastri reads as **उदाति** and I read as **उपति** but which cannot be interpreted, occurs before the figures 1½ and 1½.

of) 80¹/₈. Again, in the same village, the income of four new *barajas*¹ belonging to.....gāñi² and ³three other *barajas* belonging to.....(yielding) 19¹/₄. This land in two plots (measuring)⁴*kā* 2 and *kha* 7, given away⁵ on the great *Ūttarā-yanasankramana* (i.e. Winter Solstice) day of the thirteenth regnal year,⁶ (yielding an income of) 100 in all.

And in **Vinayatilaka** village in Nāvya, 25 *udānas* of land including homestead plots, (yielding) from various sources⁷ (an income of) 60, with four boundaries as follows: on the east, the sea; on the south, *Pramullī*⁸ land; on the west, the embankment; and on the north, the village.

(Il. 48-51). And in **Ajikulā-pātāka**,⁹ which is in **Navasamgraha-chaturaka** and **Madhuksūra** *ārritti*,¹⁰ 165 *udānas* of land, as laid down in the title-deed (*paṭṭolī*),¹¹ circumscribed within its own well-known boundaries, including homestead plots, purchased by this *Āvallika-paṇḍita*¹² Halāyudha from Uchehhoka and others,¹³ owing to various causes of depreciation¹⁴ (yielding only) 100. And growing (?)¹⁵ in the homestead plots of the (aforesaid) land, one hundred betelnut trees (estimated at?) 30, but yielding a price of 40—from these two sources altogether 140. And in **Deūlahastī** in **Lāuhaṇḍā-chaturaka**¹⁶ in **Vikramapura**—(situated) to the east and west of the river¹⁷.....land including homestead plots, measuring 25 *udānas*, as laid down in the title-deed, purchased by the same from Kāmāpiṇṭha Nāga and others (yielding an income of) 50.

¹ I.E. 'betel-leaf plantations.' Cf. modern Bengali *baraj* used in that sense.

² Probably the name of an individual belonging to a particular *gāñi* was mentioned here. But the passage as transcribed yields hardly any sense.

³ This portion is preceded by a few words of doubtful reading.

⁴ The abbreviations *kā* and *kha* are not clear.

⁵ Sastri reads *समुल्लिखित* wherever the word *समुत्सर्गित* occurs in the record (Il. 53, 58).

⁶ Sastri reads *चर्यादशवेधे* and misses the reference to the regnal year.

⁷ In the compound *नानापत्ति*, the word *पत्ति* which literally means 'going' or 'walking' seems to be used in a secondary sense of 'means' or 'ways.' The compound word is repeated in l. 50.

⁸ The meaning of *प्रमुल्लि* (?) is not known. Cf. *Paṇḍī* = a canal, in Hathigumpha Inscription.

⁹ Sastri reads *अडिजला*.

¹⁰ Cf. *Kāntāpura-ārritti* of the Mādhānagar plate.

¹¹ For the meaning of *paṭṭolī* see p. 140 above and M. Williams, *s.v.* *paṭṭolīkā*. The abbreviation *सं* here and elsewhere, occurring in similar context stands probably for *सम्बद्ध*.

¹² The significance of *आवहिक* is not known.

¹³ Sastri reads *डाव्यीक*. A few words occurring before it are not intelligible.

¹⁴ *उच्छ्रितात्* i.e. *उत्सर्गत्*.

¹⁵ The word in question is read *कलन* which may mean 'causing.' The word intended might, however, have been *फलन* 'bearing fruit' which suits the context better.

¹⁶ Sastri reads *लाङ्गुष्ठा*.

¹⁷ The words *राजहिता म* etc. are not intelligible.

10. TERMS DENOTING OFFICIAL TITLES

[N.B. Most of the terms are now obsolete and the meanings given here are often conjectural. Where no meaning is given it is to be understood that no likely interpretation is available.

The figure s following a term indicate the serial numbers of the inscriptions in which the term occurs.

Vogel's *Chamba* stands for *Antiquities of Chamba State* by Vogel.

The *Mahāvatpatti* referred to is that published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal as *Memoirs*, Vol. IV.

'M. Williams' means Monier-Williams's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*.

अधिकृत, XII, 'an officer.'

अध्यक्ष, XVI, 'a superintendent.'

अन्तःप्रतीहार, XVI; cf. *antahpāla* (M. Williams s.v.); probably 'one who guards the inner apartments of a palace.'

अन्तरङ्ग, II, VI-XI; it is generally followed by *Bṛihad-uparika*, the two, according to some authorities, forming one term (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 43). Sometimes it occurs independently, e. g. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 326, l. 18; also in a copper-plate of Kulastambha (*J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. II, p. 402, l. 21). According to some writers it means 'the court physician' (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 43, n. 1).

आङ्गिकरणिक, XVI, literally 'one concerned with oaths.'

आभ्यन्तरिक, XVI, literally 'one concerned with the interior.'

उपरिक, XVI; cf. *वहदुपरिक*; see Vogel's *Chamba*, p. 123. In the Damodarpur copper-plates (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 113 ff) the *Uparika* is described as ruling over a province (*bhukti*) under the Imperial monarch and occupying the position of a Viceroy.

एकसरक, XVI.

औलियासनिक, XVI; cf. *Mahantthitāsānika*, Panchobh copper-plate, *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. V, p. 588. See above, p. 153, n. 4.

कर्मकर, XVI, 'an artisan.'

करण, XIII, XIV, XVI; 'the Kāyastha caste' as well as 'a writer, or a clerk' (Bühler, *Ind. Pal.*, trans., p. 101). The terms *karāṇika* and *kāyastha* are used synonymously in Gāḍaḍavāla inscriptions (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 152, n. 3.). Kielhorn takes the word *karāṇa* to mean 'a deed, a legal document' and *karāṇika*, 'the writer of legal documents' (*Ep. Ind.*,

Vol. IV, p. 105). But *karāṇa* is frequently used for *karāṇika* also (cf. Banerji, *Bāṅglār Itihāsa*, 2nd ed., p. 305). On *kāyastha* see Vogel's *Chamba*, pp. 133-34.

कुमार, xv, 'a crown prince.'

कुमारामात्य, xvi, 'a councillor of the crown prince'; see Vogel's *Chamba*, p. 123.

कोट्यपति, xvi, 'a commander of a fort.'

कोटपाल, I, probably the same as **कोट्यपति**; used also in Pāla copper-plates, e.g. Bangarh grant, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, p. 327; according to M. Williams 'a commander of a strong-hold', cf. *kottarāja* of the *Mahāvryutpatti*, p. 29; cf. modern *kotwāl* for 'Prefect of city police.'

खड्गग्राह, xvi, probably the same as *khadgaraksha* of the Chamba inscriptions; 'a class of body-guards carrying swords.'--Vogel's *Chamba*, p. 128. Cf. *khadgika* of the *Mahāvryutpatti*.

खण्डपाल, xvi, probably the same as *Khaṇḍaraksha* of the Chamba inscriptions; but *khaṇḍa* does not here stand for *khadga* as Vogel thinks (*Chamba*, p. 127); the compounds probably mean 'superintendent of repairs.'

खोल, xvi; occurs also in the Khālimpur plate, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 253.

गमागमिक, xvi, probably 'a courier' (Vogel's *Chamba*, p. 126); occurs also in Pāla inscriptions, e.g. Khālimpur plate, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 253.

गौलििक, vi-xi, xii, xiii-xvi, probably 'a military or police officer.'--Vogel's *Chamba*, p. 127; 'an overseer or superintendent of forests' Kielhorn (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 253, n. 9) and Fleet (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 52, n. 4); 'a custom receiver on highways.' *Mahāvryutpatti*, p. 33.

चट्ट, ii, vi-viii, x, xi, xiii-xv; or **चाट**, I, xvi; or **चाड़**, ii; the most satisfactory interpretation is 'the head of a *pargana*' = *chār* of modern Chamba (Vogel's *Chamba*, pp. 130-32). Other interpretations, which are less likely, are 'flatterer' (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 176), 'rogue' (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 296; 299) and 'irregular soldiers' (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 19).

चौरोद्धरणिक, I, ii, vi-xi, xiii-xvi, 'a class of police officers.'--Vogel's *Chamba*, p. 129.

ठकुर, xvi; in the *Rājataranigīṇī* it denotes 'a feudatory chieftain' (Vogel's *Chamba*, p. 110); cf. *Thakore Sahebs* of modern Kathiawar. This can hardly be the meaning here. In Gāhaḍavāla inscriptions the term is

frequently added to the name of a scribe, e.g. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 120. In the Maner plate, *J.A.S.B.*, 1922, pp. 81-84, the term is applied to the scribe (*karāṇika*), and also to the donee who was a Brāhmaṇa.

तदानियुक्तक, XVI; cf. *tadāyuktaka* of Khālimpur plate, and *tanniyuktaka*, *viniyuktaka* etc. of other inscriptions.—Vogel's *Chamba*, p. 130.

दण्डनायक, I, II, VI, XI, XIII-XIV; cf. **मेहादण्डनायक**, probably 'a judge.'

दण्डपाल, XVI, probably the same as **दण्डनायक**.

दाण्डपाणिक, XVI, literally 'one who holds the rod': probably means an officer entrusted with criminal justice or 'a kind of police officer': cf. *dāṇḍika*, *daṇḍin*, *daṇḍapāṇi*.—Vogel's *Chamba*, p. 129.

दाण्डपाणिक, I, II, VI-XI, XIII-XV, literally 'one who holds the rod and rope' and means probably 'an officer entrusted with the punishment of criminals.'—Vogel's *Chamba*, p. 129.

दुःसाध्यसाधनिक, XVI; **दौःसाधनिक**, II, VI-XI, XIV, XV; or **दौःसाध्यसाधनिक**, I.

दूत, VI-X, XIII, XVI, 'a messenger' or 'an agent or delegate of the king'.—Vogel's *Chamba*, pp. 125-26. See Fleet's note on *dūtaka*, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 100, n. 3.

दूतप्रेषणिक, XVI; also used in Pāla inscriptions, e.g. Bangarh grant, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, p. 327; literally 'one who sends out a messenger.'

पानीयागारिक, XVI, literally, 'one who is in charge of the water chamber.'

पुरोहित, II, VI, VII, VIII, X, 'a priest.'

पीठिकावित्त, II.

बृहदुपरिक, II, VI-XI, 'the great *Uparika*.' See **उपरिक**.

भट्ट, II, VI-VIII, X, XI, XIII-XV; **भट**, XVI; **भड़**, II; or **भाट**, I; frequently joined with *Chatta* in inscriptions: 'a royal servant.' Vogel thinks that it means 'an officer subordinate to' the *Chatta* (*Chamba*, p. 132) which is unlikely as sometimes another word intervenes, e.g. *chāṭa-chāra-bhaṭa* in the Palitana plates of Simhāditya (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 18).

भुक्तिपति, XVI, 'head of a province.'

मण्डलपति, I, 'head of a Division.'

महाकटुक, XVI; occurs also in the Panchobh plate, *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. V, p. 588;

the word *Kaṭuka* occurs in a copper-plate from Almora (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, p. 117 and n. 9).

महाकरणाध्यक्ष, XVI, 'keeper of records.' See also **करण**.

भक्षपटलिक, I, II, VI-XI, XVI, 'the Chief Accountant.' The correct meaning of the word *akshapātala* as "Accountant General's office" was first suggested by Stein (Vogel's *Chamba*, p. 133). In the same sense it is used also in Kautilya's *Arthasāstra*. (cf. Fleet, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 190, n. 2).

महाकायस्थ, XVI, 'the chief clerk'; see **करण**; cf. the terms *Prathama-kāyastha* (Damodarpur plates, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 128) and *Jyeshtha-kāyastha* (Faridpur plates, *Ind. Ant.*, 1910, p. 211; and Khālimpur plate, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 253, n. 10).

महागणस्थ, II, VI-XI, probably 'the head of a village or town corporation' (for the meaning of *gaṇa* see R. C. Majumdar, *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, 2nd ed., p. 138).

महातन्त्राधिकृत, XVI.

महादण्डनायक, XVI; cf. **दण्डनायक**.

महादुःसाधिक, XIII.

महाधर्मोध्यक्ष, II, VI-XI, XIII-XV, 'the Chief Justice.' Halāyudha held this post in Lakshmanasena's time (*J. A. S. B.*, 1906, p. 176).

महापादमूलिक, XVI; the word *pādamūlika* frequently occurs in the Pāli literature in the sense of 'an attendant' (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 254, n. 4; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 252). It occurs also in the Tatwagumphā inscription at Khaṇḍagiri (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, p. 164).

महापौलुपति, II, VI-XI; occurs also in the Panchobh plate (*J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. V, p. 588, l. 7) and the Abhona plates of Śaṅkaragana (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 298, ll. 33-4). It has been generally taken to denote 'the officer-in-charge of elephants' (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 43; see also M. Williams, s. v. *pīlu*). But in the *Mahāvīryutpatti*, p. 30, where the term occurs along with *aśvapati* and *gajapati*, it is interpreted as 'chief treasurer,' it is not known on what authority.

महापुरोहित, IX, XI, XIII-XV, 'the chief priest.'

महाप्रतीहार, I, II, VI-XI, XVI, 'High Chamberlain'—Vogel's *Chamba*, p. 135, ; cf. Fleet, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 190, n. 1.

महाभोगपति, XVI, probably 'a provincial Governor,' the same as *bhuktipati*. Vogel's *Chamba*, p. 130. Kielhorn takes *bhoga* = *bhukti* (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 253, n. 6).

महाभोगिक, II, VII-XI, probably the same as महाभोगपति.

महामहत्तक XIII, XIV, XVII, literally 'a headman.'

महामाण्डलिक, XVI, 'a vassal chief ruling over a *maṇḍala*.' See above p. 151.

महामुद्राधिकृत, II, VI-XI, XVI, 'the Keeper of the Royal seal.'

महावलाधिकरणिक, XVI, probably 'an army chief.'

महावलाकोष्ठिक, XVI.

महाय्यूहपति, I, II, VI, XVI, probably 'a general.'

महामर्वाधिकृत, I, XVI, literally 'superintendent of all works.' See above p. 8, n. 1.

महासाम्बिविग्रहिक, I, II, VI-XI, XIII-XVI, 'High Minister for peace and war.'

महासामन्त, XVI, 'a vassal chief'; see Fleet, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 284, n. 1.

महासेनापति, I, II, VI-XI, XIII-XVI, 'the Commander-in-chief.'

राजन्, II, VI-XI, XIII, XV, XVI, 'a chief' or 'a vassal king.'

राजन्यक, II, VI-XI, XIII-XVI, 'a feudatory chieftain,' Vogel's *Chamba*, p. 110.

राजपण्डित, XV, 'the Court Pandit.'

राजपुत्र, I, II, VI-XI, XIII-XVI, 'a noble man,' Vogel's *Chamba*, p. 122.

राजपुरुष, I, 'a State officer.'

राज्ञी, I, II, VI-XI, XIII-XVI, 'a queen,' or 'the wife of a chief.'

राजामात्य, I, II, VI-XI, XIII-XV, 'a minister or councillor attached to a chief.'—Vogel's *Chamba*, p. 122.

राणक, I, II, V-XI, XIII-XVI, cf. ; the term *rāṇā* which is evidently derived from it.

लेखक, XVI, 'a scribe.'

वासागारिक, XVI, literally 'one who is in charge of the residence' ; cf. *vāsāpaka* in the Hansot plate of Bhartrivaddha (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 204 and n. 1).

विषयपति, I, II, VI-XI, XIII-XVI, 'officer in charge of a District.'—Vogel's *Chamba*, p. 124. See Fleet, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 32, n. 7.

व्याघ्रतक, I, II, VI-XI, XIII-XVI, probably 'a class of officers dealing with cattle etc.'; it seems to be a generic term. The mention of *go-mahisha* etc. along with *hasty-aśva* etc. in some inscriptions makes Vogel's interpretation 'officers connected with the army and navy' (*Chamba*, p. 125) untenable. Cf. the word *vyāpāra*, with which it appears to be connected, occurring in a Faridpur plate (*Ind. Ant.*, 1910, p. 211).

वृद्धधानुष्क, XVI, 'the chief archer.'

शान्तिवारिक, I, 'the priest in charge of propitiatory rites.' See above p. 166.

शान्त्यागारिक, XI, 'the priest in charge of the room where propitiatory rites are performed.' Cf. *śāntisadman* (M. Williams, s. c.). See above p. 170.

शान्त्यागाराधिकृत, II, evidently the same as शान्त्यागारिक.

शौल्किक, I, XVI, 'Customs officer,' Vogel's *Chamba*, p. 127. It is mentioned in the *Mahāvīryutpatti*. See also Fleet, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 52, n. 3.

शिरोरक्षिक, XVI, literally 'one who protects the head'; probably a class of royal body-guards.

सान्तकिक, XVI.

सान्धिविग्रहिक, VIII-X, XV; see महासान्धिविग्रहिक.

वृष्टपति, XVI, 'superintendent of market.' Cf. *gañjapati* in an Almora plate (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, p. 115, l. 5).

II. ADDITIONAL NOTES AND COMMENTS

P. 1, l. 30.—

This dating generally agrees with the scheme of chronology proposed by Mr. R. D. Banerji after a detailed analysis of the characters employed in a number of inscriptions including the Rāmpāl plate of Śrīchandra, in his article "Date of Śrīchandra" (*Sir Asutosh Silver Jubilee Volumes, Orientalia*, Part III, p. 221 and chart).

P. 2, l. 2.—

As in all inscriptions of the post-Gupta period, the same sign is used for both *b* and *v* in this and the following records. To this orthographical feature attention has been frequently drawn in the course of this volume.

P. 4, text, l. 3.—

Regarding the spelling of the word *Rohitāgiri* (with *ā*) see my note in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. II, pp. 655-56. The word in this particular form occurs in certain copper-plates of Gayāḍatuṅga (*J. A. S. B.*, 1909, p. 347 ; and 1916, p. 291) and Vinīṭatuṅga II of Orissa (*J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. VI, p. 238). The correct reading of the word in the Rāmpāl plate is due to Mr. Sib Chandra Sil (*Sāhitya*, Chaitra, 1320 B.S.). See Haridas Mitra, *I. H. Q.*, Vol. III, p. 217. P. 2, l. 32.—

A fourth record of the reign of Śrīchandra, the Dhullā copper-plate has been made available to me and is noticed along with his Edilpur plate in the Appendices.

P. 6, verse 2.—

The word *santānin* literally means 'one who has progeny,' but it is used here evidently in a special sense. Some of the South-Indian inscriptions mention seven kinds of *santāna* or 'duties' the performance of which was looked upon as meritorious. These are : (1) the procreation of a son, (2) composition of a poem, (3) hoarding of treasure, (4) planting of a grove, (5) marriage of a girl to a Brahmana, (6) consecration of a temple and (7) the excavation of a tank. A person who had these acts (*santānas*) to his credit could be called *santānarān* (= *santānin*), *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 92, v. 43 and n. 3. For other references to the seven *santānas* in South-Indian inscriptions see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 64, v. 9 and n. 3 and p. 289, v. 17 ; Vol. VI, p. 129, v. 15 and n. 4, and p. 130, v. 24 ; and Vol. XIX, p. 160, v. 10. The translation of the phrase *santāninānām-agraṭaḥ* etc. as 'at the top of the members of his family' (R. G. Basak, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII,

p. 140) is untenable. It should be, 'at the head of those who have the (seven) *santānas* or meritorious acts to their credit.'

P. 8, l. 10.---

Following Kielhorn and others I have taken the word *samupagata* to mean 'present' or 'assembled.' Mr. Basak interprets it as 'recognized' according to *Amara* III, Bk. ii. 58. But Professor Konow does not accept it (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 42, n. 4). I may point out that in an exactly similar context the word *samaveta* is used, in lieu of *samupagata*, in the Chicacole Plates of Devendra-varman.—*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 132, l. 9.

P. 8, l. 23.---

Throughout the book I have taken *pūti* to mean '*pūti* plant' under the idea that it is the same as *pūtika* of Indian Medical texts (M. Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s. v.). But it has also another meaning, viz., 'a species of grass' (*ibid.*), which would probably suit the context better, specially in combination with *ṭṛiṇa*. *Pūti* is translated as 'filthy water' by Mr. Basak which is most improbable (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 43, n. 5 and p. 141). Many scholars again read *yūti* for *pūti* (e.g. Kielhorn, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 101, l. 17). In later inscriptions, in which *y* and *p* are often indistinguishable, it is very difficult to say which of these readings is intended. But in earlier records the reading *yūti* is certain, e.g. Nirmand copper-plate of Samudrasena (Fleet, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 289, l. 10 and pl. XLIV). In this instance, in a *dvandva* compound, *ṭṛiṇa* and *yūti* are separated by two other words. It is, therefore, wrong to take *ṭṛiṇayūti* found in certain inscriptions as one word, as some scholars would like to have it (K. M. Gupta, *Ind. Ant.*, 1922, pp. 74-75). The phrase *ṭṛiṇago-yūthī* etc. occurs in a similar context in Chamba inscriptions (Vogel, *Antiquities of Chamba*, pp. 167, 168). Vogel thinks *goyūthī* = *gavyūti* = 'grazing ground,' and translates *go-chara*, which follows immediately, as 'pasture ground.' But 'pasture ground' and 'grazing ground' are one and the same thing. The word *yūti* which forms a part of *gavyūti*, or more correctly *go-yūti*, means 'fastening' (cf. *bahir-yūti* in M. Williams), so that *go-yūti* means 'the place where cattle are kept fastened' as distinguished from *go-chara* 'the place where cattle graze about.' Therefore if we have to read *yūti* instead of *pūti*, the former may be taken to stand for *go-yūti* i.e., 'fastening ground for cattle.'

P. 8, l. 32.—

Literally, '*blāmichchhidra-nyāya* means 'the principle of a hole in the land.' For various interpretations of this 'principle' see R. G. Bhandarkar, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. I, p. 46, n.; Bühler, *ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 106, n.; Fleet, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol.

III, p. 138, n. 2 ; and Bhadkamkar, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 177. But none of these is suitable. According to the *Vaijayantī*, *bhūmi* or 'land' is called *chhidra* when it is unfit for cultivation, and the word *bhūmichchhidra* is used in that sense in the *Arthasāstra* of Kauṭilya (K. M. Gupta, *Ind. Ant.*, 1922, p. 77). The Kamauli plate of Vaidyadeva has *bhūmichchhidraṇ=cha akiñchītkara-grāhyam*, i.e. 'uncultivable land is not taxable' (Padmanath Vidyavinod, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 121, n. 3), which seems to be the principle (*nyāya*) observed in granting land.

P. 9, l. 1.—

Ch. 149 of the *Agnipurāṇa* describes the benefits a king may derive by performing the Koṭihoma rite.

P. 9, l. 3.—

The three Rishis evidently are : Śāṇḍilya, Asita and Devala.

P. 10, para. 2.—

Mr. Bhattasali published his reading of the inscription with a facsimile in the Bengali journal *Pratibhā* (Āśvina, 1326 B.S.). An article on the copper-plate by Mr. Haridas Mitra appeared in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. II (June 1926), pp. 313-42.

P. 14, l. 27.—

The date assigned to the plate fully agrees with the chronological scheme adopted by Mr. R. D. Banerji after an analysis of the scripts of several inscriptions (*Sir Asutosh Silver Jubilee Volumes, Orientalia*, Part III, p. 221 and chart).

P. 16, l. 12.—

The abbreviations *ni* etc occur in most of the copper-plates dealt with in this volume. The letter *ni* stands for *nibuddha* on which see my note above, p. 149, n. 3.

P. 23, verse 11.—

I am indebted to Professor D. R. Bhandarkar for the following translation which appears to be more suitable : "To him belonged Mālavyadevī, the (most) beautiful (lady) in the three worlds, the daughter of Jagadvijayamalla and the banner of the god of Love." As Sāmalavarman's son Udayī is mentioned prior to the former's queen Mālavyadevī (v. 10) and she is described as 'the Chief Queen,' it is possible that Udayī was the issue of some other wife of Sāmalavarman.

P. 24, l. 9.—

Cf. *khaṇḍa* meaning 'a section of a province,' perhaps synonymous with *vishaya*, Fleet, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 32, n. 7.

P. 25, n. 3.—

A reading of the Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva inscription with a Bengali translation and a totally indistinct facsimile was published by Mr. N. N. Vasu in his *Varṅger Jātīya Itihāsa*, Vol. I, part I (2nd ed., 1318 B.S.), pp. 304-12.

P. 31, n. 4.—

Some writers identify Siddhala with the present village of Sidhala near Ahmadpur, in Birbhum District. vide *Bīrbhūm Vivaraṇa* by Harekrishna Mukherji, Pt. 2, p. 234.

P. 43, l. 32. -

An echo of the conquests of Vijayasena seems to be contained in three of the verses ascribed to Umāpatidhara in the *Saduktikarṇāmrīta* (M. Chakravarti, *J. A. S. B.*, 1906, p. 161).

P. 44, n. 3.—

Some of the kings of Champā (Indo-China) call themselves Brahma-kshatriyas in their inscriptions. R. C. Majumdar, *Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East*, Vol. I, pp. 215-16.

P. 45, n. 3.—

Rāghava belonged to the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty of Kalinga. M. Chakravarti, *J. A. S. B.*, 1903, Part I, p. 113.

P. 46.

The dates assigned to Vijayasena and his successors rest really on the theory of Kielhorn that Lakshmaṇasena, grandson of Vijayasena, was the originator of the era of 1119 A.D. called after him and reckoned, it is believed, from the year of his accession. (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 1 ff.). Subsequent writers holding the same view are principally : R. D. Bāberji, *J. A. S. B.*, 1913, p. 273 ff. and *Bāṅglār Itihāsa*, 2nd ed., p. 321 ff. ; S. Kumar, *Ind. Ant.*, 1913, p. 185 ff. ; and N. G. Majumdar, *Ind. Ant.*, 1919, p. 171 ff. This theory, however, has not been generally accepted, principally because Vallālasena, father of Lakshmaṇasena is stated in the *Dāhasāgara* and the *Adbhutasāgara* to have been ruling in 1168 A.D. ; see N. N. Vasu, *Varṅger Jātīya Itihāsa* (Rājanya-kāṇḍa), p. 321 ; R. P. Chanda, *Gauḍarājamālā*, p. 62 ; N. K. Bhattasali, *Ind. Ant.*, 1912, p. 167 ; D. C. Bhattacharya, *Ind. Ant.*, 1922, p. 148 ff. and 153 ff. ; and R. C. Majumdar, *J. A. S. B.*, 1921, p. 7 ff. Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri, however, accepts both the dates, viz., 1119 as the year of coronation of Lakshmaṇasena and 1168 as a

regnal year of Vallālasena ; and he cuts the Gordian knot by supposing the existence of *two* Lakshmaṇasenas. He is of opinion that the Lakshmaṇasena with whose name the era is associated in certain Bodhgayā inscriptions (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 30 ; and *Ind. Ant.*, 1919, p. 43 ff) and MSS. from Bihar, was not the son of Vallālasena (*Sir Asutosh Silver Jubilee Volumes*, Orientalia, part 2, p. 5). The question, however, is far from being settled and recently Mr. Pramatha Nath Misra has questioned Kielhorn's conclusion on Astronomical grounds—*J. A. S. B.*, 1926, pp. 365-389.

P. 51, n. 1.—

The word literally means 'one who is versed in *Brahmacidyā* or 'the knowledge of the Supreme Being.' The poet imagines that, to Sāmāntasena *Brahman* is the same as *pratisubhaṭaśat-otsādana* i.e., 'the extermination of hundreds of opposing soldiers.'

P. 68, l. 5.—

Some writers name this plate after the adjoining village of Sītāpatī, to avoid confusion with Nāīpatī of 24-Parganas District.

P. 79, l. 13.—

Mr. Kshettres Chattopadhyaya of the Allahabad University suggests that the word *Charaṇa* occurring here and in inscriptions IX and X means the *Sūtras* of Laṭyāyana and Gobhila.

P. 81, l. 2.—

According to Mr. R. D. Banerji the Ānuliā plate was really acquired in Malda town—*Sāhitya Parishat-Patrikā*, Vol. 17, p. 136.

P. 84, l. 8.—

Prof. S. N. Majumdar (*Sir Asutosh Com. Vols., Orientalia*, Part 2, p. 424) suggests the identification of Vyāghrataṭī with Bāgdi, one of the four divisions of Bengal, which included the delta of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra.

P. 96, n. 10.—

Dr. S. K. Chatterji also reads the name as 'Chahala.'—*Origin and Development of Bengali Language*, Pt. I, p. 187.

P. 107, l. 7.—

The word *mārāṅkamalla* seems to occur also in a verse attributed to Umāpati in the *Saduktikarṇāmrīta*.—*J. A. S. B.*, 1906, p. 161, v. 3.

P. 109, v. 1 and p. 111, v. 11.—

Mr. N. K. Bhattasali has published an interesting account of a lost 'Bhowal Copper-plate' of Lakshmaṇasena (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. III, pp. 89-96). It

appears that this record resembled the Mādhānagar plate in many respects, e.g. the use of the words *Gaurīpriyā* in the first verse and *Kāśirāja* in a subsequent one.

P. 110, ll. 16-17.—

The sign '—' has been used to indicate that a letter with a long sound is missing in the original.

P. 115, n. 1.—

The correct passage should have been कपर्दकपुराणाष्टषष्टाधिकशत etc. i.e., 'one hundred and sixty-eight *kaparddakapurāṇas*'.

P. 116, l. 5.—

In this account Mr. Banerji says that the Chaṇḍī image was brought to Dacca from the ruins at Rāmpāl about the year 1875 by Baikuntha Nath Sen, a Deputy Inspector of Schools. The image is now in Jivan Babu's Śiva temple in Dacca town (*Dhākār Itihās* by J. M. Ray, pt. 2, p. 391).

P. 118, l. 28.—

The title *Aśrapati-gajapati-narapati* etc. is assumed also by earlier kings, e.g. the Gāhaḍavāla Govindachandra (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 23, l. 11) and the Kalachuris (*ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 213, l. 24).

P. 127, verse 8.—

The words *bhogīndra* ('the chief of the opulent') and *jihmaga* ('the crooked') mean here also 'the lord of the serpents' and 'the serpents,' respectively.

P. 140, l. 2.—

So far as Mr. Nalini Kanta Bhattasali of Dacca has been able to ascertain, this plate was found in the year 1925, in the village of Madhyapādā, in Vikramapur Pargana, about 14 miles direct south of Dacca town. It passed through Dacca town to Susang, in Mymensing District and was acquired there by Maharaja Bhupendra Chandra Singh who presented it to the Sāhitya Parishat at Calcutta. Before this a strip had been cut away from the bottom of the plate (*vide* facsimiles).

P. 163, n. 1.—

This place is 9 miles south of the well-known village of Jaynagar after which the plate is sometimes named, e.g. *Sāhitya Parishat-Patrikā*, Vol. 17, p. 136. Jaynagar is 30 miles south of Calcutta.

P. 175, v. 4.—

The last word of the first line is so quoted by Rajanikanta Chakravartī in his *Gauder Itihāsa*, pt. 1, p. 263, but as वरेन्द्रे by Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda in *Gaudarājamālā*, p. 60.

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

- P. 2, n. 1 : For 'Ep. nd' read 'Ep. Ind'.
- P. 3, l. 20 : For 'H rike'ladeśe Śī'a' kanāt ak' read 'Harike'ladeśe Śīla'olanāṭhaḥ' ; l. 21 : if indistinct read 'of Harikel' ; l. 23 : For 'rat' read 'rate' ; l. 27 : For 'Brahmanica' read 'Brahminical'.
- P. 5, l. 7 : For हस्त्राश्च read हस्तश्च
- P. 6, l. 3 : For भूमिं read भूमिः ; l. 4 : For प्रतिगृह्णीति read प्रतिगृह्णाति and for उभो read उभौ ; l. 12 : For बुद्धा read बुद्ध्या ; l. 23 : After 'who possess offspring' insert footnote number '16'.
- P. 7, ll. 6 and 8 and n. 2 : For 'New Moon' read 'new moon' ; l. 14 : For 'on account o' read 'on account of'.
- P. 9, l. 13 : For 'transgressor' read 'transgressor.'
- P. 11, l. 3 : After 'his son' insert 'Suvarnnachandra and grandson' ; n. 5 : For 'the second pāda' read 'the third and fourth pādas.'
- P. 12, l. 4 : For स्पृष्टः read स्पृष्टः
- P. 15, l. 21 : For 'Purūravas son' read 'Purūravas's son' ; l. 25 : For 'He made himself etc.' read 'His son Jātavarman who made himself etc.'
- P. 17, l. 2 : For 'propable' read 'probable.'
- P. 19, l. 1 : Close bracket after 'l. 4' ; l. 12 : For 'donece' read 'donee' ; for n. 3 substitute 'See below p. 33, v. 3.'
- P. 20, l. 22 : For मगुले read मण्डले.
- P. 23, l. 21 : For 'troubles ?' read 'troubles'
- P. 27, l. 14 : After 'an elder brother' insert 'named Mahādeva and a younger brother' ; l. 18 : After 'Budha,' transfer 'having another name Sphurita' from l. 17.
- P. 33, l. 7 : For प्रबभूव read प्रबभूवः ; l. 18 : For गौवईन read गौवईनः.
- P. 34, l. 12 : For जानुद्वयः read जानुद्वयः ; l. 19 : For विष read विषय and delete य before अर्ज.
- P. 36, l. 24 : For 'ven' read 'even.'
- P. 37, heading : For 'Bhuvanesvar' read 'Bhuvanesvar.'
- P. 39, n. 4, l. 3 : For gamnāṁ read gamnāṁ.
- P. 40, n. 6 : The particle 'and' should come after (i.e. Bhuvanesvar).'
- P. 43, l. 3 : For '11th century' read 'about the end of the 11th century.'
- P. 45, l. 23 : For 'ślpi' read 'śilpi.'
- P. 47, l. 13 : If indistinct read अभवदनवसानो—
- P. 48, l. 3 : For '17' read '16' ; n. 13 : The portion after 'Sragdhatā.' should be deleted.
- P. 49, l. 1 : For ह्यन्धोपि मथ्यान्तरीयं read ह्यन्धोपिमथ्यान्तरीयः.
- P. 50, l. 8 : For 'by the name' read 'after the name' ; l. 21 : For 'beautiful' read 'beautiful.'
- P. 51, n. 4 : For 'valueles' read 'valueless.'
- P. 54, l. 21 : For 'inhabitantants' read 'inhabitants' ; n. 1, l. 3 : For 'would not not' read 'would not'
- P. 55, n. 1, l. 7 : For 'clad psets' read 'clad by' ; l. 8 : For antiraka read antirika and for śīpa- read śīlpa.
- P. 56, n. 1, l. 3 : For 'striken' read 'stricken' ; n. 1, l. 4 : For 'decen' read 'decent.'
- P. 58, ll. 7-8 : Delete 'a letter is usually doubled.....in l. 9.'
- P. 61, l. 26 : For मथे read मथे.
- P. 62, l. 9 : For तामासानां read तामसानां.
- P. 63, n. 1 : For 'chatushlayā' read 'chatuṣṭaya.'
- P. 65, n. 2 : For 'Th res' read 'There is'
- P. 67, l. 4 : After 'great-grandson of' add 'Ratnākaraśaśarmā and grandson of' ; l. 5 : For 'Kāntijoṅga' read 'Kāntijoṅga.'
- P. 69, l. 6 : For 'l. 11' read 'll.'
- P. 70, l. 23 : For 'weilded' read 'wielded' ; n. 1 refers to verse 21 mentioned on p. 69, l. 35.

- P. 71, l. 27 : For श्रीकण्ठ read श्रीकण्ठ.
- P. 73 : After text line 32 insert 'Reverse' as heading ; l. 22 : For गोविक read गोविक.
- P. 74, l. 24 : For श्रीत read श्रीतो .
- P. 75, l. 13 : For बुद्धा read बुद्धा.
- P. 77, l. 1 : For 'the host of princes whose' read 'the host of princes. His' ; l. 2 : For 'whose' read 'his.'
- P. 78, l. 21 : For '7 droṇas' read '9 droṇas' ; l. 22 : For 'including' read 'including' and 'plates' read 'places' ; l. 23 : Delete 'maṇḍala' ; l. 25 : Insert 'maṇḍa'a' at the beginning ; l. 28 : Before 'same' insert 'the.'
- P. 79, l. 2 : For 'Surakoṇigaḍḍiākiya' read 'Surakoṇigaḍḍiā.'
- P. 80 : After the translation of verse 20 insert : "(Verse 21). The lord of the Earth, Vallālasena, the conqueror of all kings, has made the Sāndhivigrahika Harighoṣha his dūta in the grant to Ovāsu."
- P. 87, n. 1, l. 2 : After 'in the' insert 'Barrackpur (line 33).'
- P. 89, l. 4 : For 'in the the' read 'in the.'
- P. 90, l. 24 : After 'which measures' add 'according to the Vṛishabhaśaṅkara nala' ; l. 32 : After 'grandson of' add 'Śaṅkaradevasārman and great-grandson of'.
- P. 96, l. 20 : For पुण्यहनि read पुण्यहनि ; l. 21 : For उ(त्)समितत्वात् read उ(त्)समितत्वात्.
- P. 97, l. 17 : For 'meditated' read 'meditated.'
- P. 103, l. 19 : For 'persence' read 'presence.'
- P. 107, l. 2 : For 'between' read 'of' ; ll. 17-18 : Read 'Lakṣmaṇsena' for 'Vallālasena' and vice versa.
- P. 111, l. 17 : For चक्रवत्ति read चक्रवत्ति.
- P. 119, l. 24 : After 'made' add 'in the month of Jyāishṭha of the third regnal year.' l. 26 : For drama read purāṇa and delete 'as in the new copper-plate grant of Viśvarūpa-sena.'
- P. 120, l. 4 : For estasmāt read elasmāt.
- P. 121, ll. 10, 11 : Delete sa in sagandha and sagarga ; l. 18 : For विस्तृत read विस्तृत ; l. 23 : For मुजा read भुजा
- P. 123, l. 17 : For तापीऋः read तापिऋः ; and मरकतैः (if not clear).
- P. 124, l. 1 : For सुगर्ग read सुगर्ग.
- P. 125, n. 1 : For dirgha read dirgha ; l. 16 : For पञ्च read पञ्च.
- P. 126, l. 11 : After स' insert इ.
- P. 127, l. 27 : For 'leavng' read 'leaving.'
- P. 130, l. 17 : For 'second' read 'third.'
- P. 133, l. 25 : After 'Tatṭana' add "but in my opinion, as 'Tyashtaṇa'."
- P. 135, l. 9 : For सतीर्णाः read सतीर्णाः.
- P. 137, n. 7 : For '23' read '21.'
- P. 138, l. 1 : For वर्ष read वर्ष.
- P. 143, l. 27 : For पञ्च read दुर्ग
- P. 144, l. 21 : For '32' read '23'.
- P. 145, l. 24 : For प्रदीप read प्रदीप.
- P. 146, l. 17 : For समुत्सर्गित read समुत्सर्गित
- P. 147, l. 10 : For महेयस्य read महेय(स्य)स्य ; l. 25 : For नाये (?) read नाये.
- P. 152, l. 5 : After बभूव space, and instead of the hyphen the usual horizontal stroke denoting a long sound.
- P. 155, l. 11 : Delete (नी) after नृपाणां.
- P. 157, l. 9 : For '3' read '2' ; l. 16 : For '4' read '3.'
- P. 165, l. 7 : After 'a single plate' insert 'it is'.
- P. 179, n. 8 : Sastri's reading is सञ्ज्ञेपदादिग्रहस्थानाधिक etc.

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